DELINQUENCY CONTROL

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CONTROL

LOWELL JUILLIARD CARR

Associate Professor of Sociology
Director of Michigan Child Guidance Institute
University of Michigan

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To

HERBERT P. ORR

late State Senator and Vice-chairman of
the Michigan State Crime Commission—
*who wanted every child to have a
decent chance*

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Editor's Introduction

Can crime be controlled? Must a society that has solved many of the problems of contagious disease and epidemic supinely accept the ravages of delinquent behavior? Do we unknowingly possess any unused resources in knowledge and social technique which merely await adequate social organization?

The problem of crime is a perennial concern of all organized social life. The popular detective story, the mystery tale, and the literary tragedy revel in descriptions of criminal behavior and its apprehension. There is no single human problem to which the research sociologist and the practicing sociologist have given more study and attention than criminal behavior. Out of this accumulated knowledge and funded experience one fact emerges with increasing clarity. It is this: The roots of most criminal behavior lie in juvenile delinquency. But these roots are manifold and complexly interwoven; so much so that the treatment and prevention of juvenile delinquency have been often less successful than we could have wished.

Dr. Carr has had long and intensive experience in the diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of delinquent behavior of young persons. Out of this rich experience in research and practice he has formulated the principles that may guide parents, clinicians, and public authorities in dealing with juvenile delinquency. This book is a systematic analysis of the problem in which the emphasis is upon procedures that have worked. Although the many facets of juvenile delinquency are made concrete and vivid in terms of his own experience, the author has also oriented his procedures to the findings of numerous other authorities, as well as to the major theoretical implications of the problem. The title, *Delinquency Control,* is thus at once a tribute to practical accomplishment and a hopeful emphasis for community leaders. The result is a systematic treatise which, by virtue of its organic unity, offers practical guidance and the assurance of future accomplishments.

Minneapolis, Minn.   F. STUART CHAPIN

Preface

The purpose of this book is to provide a handbook for students, social workers, court officials, and civic leaders who may be interested in reducing juvenile maladjustments as one step toward more effective control of crime. It presents somewhat systematically a specific method for the control in the American culture of any social problem of the same class as juvenile delinquency, i.e., any social problem on which there is widespread agreement on norms and specific objectives. The method described has the advantage of having been actually used in a small way in Michigan since 1934. The book does not offer a "solution" of the delinquency problem or of any other problem. It merely points a way by which solutions may possibly be attained. The basic idea is simply that the solution of any social problem of this type can be reached most effectively by combining four things: scientific *research*, specialized adjustive and preventive *techniques*, the art of *social action*, and the art of *social organization*. Any one of these alone is insufficient, and yet the combination of the four is possible only in the presence of two conditions: (1) a certain stability of social conditions and (2) widespread agreement on norms. These conditions unfortunately do not exist in many important areas of life. Thus while the control of poverty in the United States might conceivably be a problem to which the method could be applied, the control of war or of the economic system would seem definitely to be problems of a quite different order.

Within the limits of the field to which the method does apply, however, it seems to be somewhat more inclusive than the usual approach of scientists or social workers to the problem. It is based on a theory of prevention *and* treatment, not merely treatment alone; a theory of total-factor rather than partial-factor control; a theory of community rather than merely institutional or agency action; a theory of democratic responsibility rather than expert dictation; and finally, a frank recognition of the facts of cultural

lag. Like it or not, most of America still lives beyond the social work frontier. It is the business of this book to help extend that frontier.

LOWELL JUILLIARD CARR

January 1941

Acknowledgments

Any book that is the outgrowth of years of thought and action reflects the influence of many different personalities. To the social theory underlying this book I suppose the most decisive contributions were those of my late teachers, Charles Horton Cooley and Leonard T. Hobhouse. For transforming a general interest in social problems into a special interest in delinquency control Dr. Alexander Grant Ruthven, president of the University of Michigan, and Dr. Roderick D. McKenzie, late head of the sociology department of the University, must share the blame. The implementing of theory with practical action was the contribution of the late State Senator Herbert P. Orr of Caro, whose wise leadership coupled with that of State Senator Felix Flynn of Cadillac, State Senator William Palmer, and Representative David M. Martin, of Flint, brought the Michigan Child Guidance Institute into existence and maintained it against premature criticism.

As the nature of this book indicates, I have drawn heavily on the experience of practical men in the field. At the risk of omitting many who should be included I cannot refrain from expressing a debt of gratitude to the probate judges of Michigan, particularly Judge Malcolm Hatfield of Berrien County, Judge Clair Black of St. Clair, Judge Clark Higbee of Grand Rapids and Judge D. J. Healy, Jr., of Detroit. Mr. Dennis Clancy, business manager of the Michigan Crippled Children's Commission, and president of the Delinquency Prevention Council of Michigan (1939-40) has given generously of his time and practical wisdom. The secretary of the Delinquency Prevention Council, Mr. Karl Zeisler, managing editor of the *Monroe Evening News*, has for years set an example of leadership and unselfish service that cannot pass unmentioned. Others who have taken leading parts in the delinquency control movement in Michigan and whose experience has been drawn upon in the preparation of this book are Mr. Lee White, director of public relations, *The Detroit News;*

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PART I

FROM TRADITION TO TECHNOLOGY

Chapter I

The Myth-Mind in an Engineer's World

THE OX CART ON MAIN STREET

Consider this curious fact: the nation that leads the world in the production of furnaces, radios, automobiles—the nation that has come nearest to solving the age-old problem of *production*—stands lowest among civilized peoples in respect for law and order, furthest from solving the ancient problem of *social control*.

Why? Apparently because to our production problem we have made a rather full application of scientific techniques, while to our problem of social control we are still applying mythology and hocuspocus. To control pneumonia or to span the Golden Gate we use scientific methods. To control crime we use any scheme that happens to appeal to business men, women's clubs, and politicians in their spare time. When a notorious criminal escapes from a county jail,[1] what happens? A scientific inquiry into the causes of that particular criminal career? A coldblooded study of the incidence of politics on penology? Does the public demand that the most competent scientists in America be brought in to study the shortcomings of current methods of treatment and prevention? Does anybody even suggest that the business of preventing deviant behavior in modern society is a bit complex and that the average man—even a busy newspaper man—may not know all the answers?

Certainly not. Editorial pages all over the country bristle with denunciations and advice. Letters to the Editor tell exactly what to do with women sheriffs and how to solve the crime problem by reviving the good old whipping post. Everybody from the local bigwig to the village washerwoman has an answer; and what is even more refreshing, everyone is happily sure of his own competence to give an answer. Yet imagine every Tom, Dick, and

[1] The reference is to John Dillinger's escape from a jail in Indiana in 1934.

Harry presuming to tell Lindbergh how to fly or the Mayo Clinic surgeons how to operate!

So we have the interesting spectacle of a streamlined civilization trying to control itself with the antiquated skills of horse-and-buggy days. Yet modern skills are available. Scientific evidence on the nature and causes of deviant behavior has been accumulating for generations, and here and there great "adjustment engineers" have been applying these findings to human problems. Granting that there is a great deal still unknown, and that even the best of our techniques falls far short of what is needed, nevertheless our leaders are a long way beyond the horse and buggy. The very discovery that our control techniques *are* defective evidences the value of scientific inquiry; and yet in all but an infinitesimal fraction of the 3000-odd counties in the United States, science as an aid to crime control is completely ignored. The dominant culture pattern of crime control under which the vast majority of us live in America has no place for scientific inquiry, rates punishment ahead of causation, and trusts politicians in preference to technicians. Perhaps, all told, there are 30,000 trained psychiatrists, sociologists, social workers, and social-minded judges, law enforcement officials, and prison wardens in the United States.[2] These men and women are making a valiant effort to apply scientific techniques in this field.

But over against this lost battalion stand the rest of us—132 million newspaper editors, housewives, teachers, bankers, truck drivers, lawyers, machinists, doctors, hodcarriers, policemen, nurses, electricians, engineers, and all the rest—speechless in the presence of a major operation or the mystery of a new model, but vocal in forty-two languages on how to stop crime! Ignorant of the very existence of mental hygiene but perfectly willing to inflict punishment on anyone who shocks our infantile emotions; as innocent of scientific objectivity toward our social world as any Zulu savage but as sure of our own competence as the family cat! Against this picture of a few specialists devoting their lives to the better understanding of the obscure springs of human

[2] Dr. Robert Kelso, director of the University of Michigan Institute of Social and Public Administration, speaking at the National Conference of Social Work in Buffalo in June, 1939, estimated that there were 100,000 social workers in the United States of whom not over 10,000 were properly trained.

action, a few technicians struggling against ignorance and indifference and venality to apply the scientific findings in a few clinics, schools, courts, prisons—against that picture range ourselves, millions of us, machine-made Americans, whose very lives depend on the techniques and gadgets that science has provided, trying pathetically to grope our way among the switchboards and motors and machine guns by following the dwindling echoes from the horse-and-buggy world! Nay, the ox-cart world! That is the answer to our question—a streamlined civilization with 132 million ox-cart drivers!

How Expert Techniques Solve Our Physical Problems

You are, let us say, hurrying to keep an appointment in a distant city. With the steady hum of quiet performance your motor is sweeping you through the countryside at over a mile a minute. You must average better than fifty to meet your man.

But suddenly you notice a slight irregularity in the drone under the hood. At first it is barely noticeable and you try to persuade yourself that it's really the wind or the unevenness of the road or something else. But you have an uneasy consciousness that you haven't had the gas filter cleaned for more than a year and that your timer hasn't been checked for months. Going up a hill the motor trips a little—it has lost some of the old pep. Something is wrong, sure enough, but you hope it's merely a little dirt in the carburetor. You step on the gas and find that you can't do over forty-five. The motor is stumbling audibly now, and your speed drops rapidly. By pulling out the choke you pick up a bit and get up to fifty. But here a new complication arises: you discover that your engine is heating up. You cannot be sure whether the trouble is a plugged gas line or faulty ignition. Whatever it is, it's getting worse. When you try to cool the engine by cutting out the choke, the engine misses and your speed drops. Going up an easy hill you have to finish in second. It's nip and tuck now whether you can cover the last three miles to the next garage—except on foot. You have gotten over the idea of doing without the choke; you are glad to keep moving on any terms at all. When a traffic light stops you a block from the first rescue station, your engine goes dead completely.

"Dirty gasoline," you tell the garage man. He seems unim-

pressed. Faintly bored, he presses a gadget here and pulls one there.

"Ignition trouble, all right. We'll push her down to the shop."

With visions of a burned-out coil or a wrecked condenser, you push. But you offer no further advice. Bonds, bridges, or babies may be your line, but not ignition trouble. You wait meekly to discover whether you are to buy a new timer or stagger on with the imperfect device which the makers of your car put on it. A twist here, a turn there, an experimental start or two, and you are once more on your way.

Now analyze your behavior in that "crisis." It typifies the way in which we "solve" all our problems of this kind. By calling in an *expert*, by commissioning him to go to work, by keeping our own amateur guesses out of it, and by accepting the expert's advice whether we like it or not, we get our physical problems solved. But observe how a typical parent deals with a social problem at least as complicated and surely as important as motor trouble.

How Traditional Bumble Makes Social Problems Worse

The depression, let us say, hit you pretty hard. In order to reduce expenses you decided to let Johnny, aged twelve, live with his grandmother a few blocks away while Billy, aged six, remained at home. For several months this arrangement seemed to work fairly well. It's true that on one occasion Johnny scandalized you by blurting out in front of his grandmother that he'd rather live at home and it's true also that he seemed to have grown somewhat more sullen and ill-tempered than before. But he always was a queer kid—the quiet kind that you couldn't talk to. Your theory was, let him know what's what occasionally and let him alone in between times; he'll come out of it.

So you are surprised and angry when Grandma tells you one day that Johnny is getting disobedient and has taken to staying out nights. If you are smart, you guess that Grandma hasn't told the half of it. You make yourself late at the lodge meeting one evening just to lay down the law to that young man. But you're bothered by the way he takes it—sullen, unreasonable, staring at the carpet. Then one night the doorbell rings and the Greek who runs the grocery over on the next street comes in. He wants to

talk to you about your son. Johnny, it seems, is one of a gang that has been raising hob around the store. The Greek is nice about it; says he thinks the parents ought to know about it before he has to call in the police, and so on. Two minutes after he leaves you are on your way to Grandma's, and there you pace the floor for an hour waiting for Johnny to come in. By the time he does come in, you are the self-righteous parent whose will is being defied, whose community standing, not to say pocketbook, is being threatened, and whose comfortable idea of his own authority is being deflated. What happens next is determined partly by the extent of your own emotional spree and partly by Johnny's willingness to "take it." Cases have been known of boys in similar situations who have literally dared their fathers to beat them into insensibility; and any beating whatever has merely hardened them in their determination to get even. It may be that your own son prefers deceit to heroism and pretends to submit. Whether he does or not, the whole affair teaches him one thing: next time he must be more careful. So for several weeks he operates more discreetly, and Grandma believes he has reformed.

The experience has one other lasting effect—it serves to make clear to Johnny that his family can be hurt by his misbehavior. Heretofore he has done what he pleased because he regarded himself as an outcast whose goings and comings were none of the family's business. Now he sees that while he is no less an outcast, in some mysterious way his father and mother will suffer if he gets into trouble. This consoles him. "What the hell . . . !"

Like Grandma you enjoy several weeks of the pleasant illusion that Johnny is a new boy. A little licking now and then certainly does help!

Then you are notified one day that you had better come down to the police station. Johnny and three other boys are suspected of having stolen $21.13 worth of candy and cigarettes from the Greek store two nights before. Johnny protests his innocence, of course; Grandma testifies that he was in bed early that night—a suspicious circumstance—and one of the cigarette cartons is finally found in the ash can back of the home of another boy not in the gang. As though any real thief would be so stupid! The upshot of it is that nothing is proved against Johnny. But you feel that you must give him another lesson. He has been running

with the gang against your orders. So you send him home to await a whipping, and find when you yourself arrive that the bird has flown. Johnny has run away.

Two days later he is picked up thumbing his way to Chicago. You realize now that this disorder has gone too far. You appeal to the juvenile court and Johnny is warned, threatened, and placed on probation. But the court, being only an average court, makes no change in your own relations to Johnny. *It sends him back to his grandmother.* The judge does not even see the psychological problem involved. Even if he did, he could do little without your consent unless he were to take a revolutionary view of the legal phrase "contributing to the delinquency of a minor." For you the problem is still one of bringing enough pressure on Johnny to make him behave. Always that idea of making Johnny conform, to your will. So you find yourself with a son who, because he does not like being excluded from his own home, is now facing the likelihood of being sent away to a state correctional home if he gives any further expression to his resentment. Yet neither you nor the court has done anything to remove the cause of that resentment. There is every likelihood that he will express it again.

The Contrast in Techniques

We need not follow Johnny further. You have succeeded with a considerable degree of self-righteousness in making a delinquent out of him, and if he goes to the state reformatory his associates there of all degrees of "hardness," from truants to young stick-up men, will certainly do their best to finish the job. Throughout, you have acted with the best of intentions. You have tried to meet a difficult economic situation with family economies, and you have simply asked Johnny to do what you wanted him to do—namely, live with his grandmother—a perfectly reasonable request from your point of view.

The fact that Johnny didn't want to live with his grandmother, that he felt hurt by being required to live there while his brother stayed home, seemed to you quite irrelevant. You knew so clearly what was best for him! Your only method of dealing with his reactions was to ignore them or try to repress them.

Compared to your behavior when your motor went haywire,

your treatment of Johnny when he began to "miss fire" was almost medieval. You took your motor to an expert, you had the expert diagnose the difficulty and prescribe the remedy, and you kept your own ideas of how to make that motor run strictly out of the picture. With Johnny, who is at least a thousand times more complicated than your motor and just as expensive, you relied wholly on your own judgment until he actually tried to escape from you altogether; then you took him, not to an expert on human behavior, but to some sort of specialist on law who happened by an accident of legislation to give a few hours a week to children's cases. Even then you did not keep your own likes and dislikes out of it. You really asked the court to uphold you in your treatment of Johnny, to send the boy back, in other words, to his grandmother—the very situation that had produced all the trouble in the first place!

THREE LEVELS OF CAUSE-AND-EFFECT THINKING

Now the interesting thing is that millions of people like you don't yet see the crucial difference between the way they handle their motor cars and the way they handle their children. The crucial difference is the difference between fact-mindedness and myth-mindedness; the difference between a cause-and-effect approach to a difficulty and a traditional, what-do-I-think-ought-to-be-done approach. Like the famous character who didn't know he was talking prose, the average man is blissfully unaware that he has three totally different ways of dealing with reality.

1. *Superstition.*—Lingering in the rural backwoods, among the foreign element in our slums, in the Negro culture, among crooks, gamblers, athletes, and at odd moments in the minds of nearly all of us, there are vestiges of what was once the accepted theory of causation. We call these vestiges *superstition.* It is important to realize that people who think "13 is unlucky" or that Friday is more ominous than other days are merely reacting for the time on a primitive cause-and-effect level, a level at which like is supposed to affect like *because it is alike*—because, in other words, we *believe* like affects like; a level that was once the pinnacle of human thought. Superstition, then, is a kind of ghost of primitive physics, an echo from a time when men were groping for the concept of cause and effect, when causal relationships—all causal

relationships—were misty and unclear. For our culture that time
has long since passed. The belief, for example, that things once
in contact must continue to affect one another even at a distance
has long since been culturally discredited. We need not consider
such anachronisms here. Superstition may produce a hex mania
or a voodoo killing, but its relation to crime control is merely that
of a curiosity whose excesses occasionally require the attention of
the police.

2. *Myth-mindedness.*—A second level of understanding appears
when men recognize actual physical cause-and-effect relationships
in general but impute them in any specific instance merely on the
basis of belief or tradition. For lack of a better name we may call
this *myth-mindedness.* A man who says that the way to stop
witchcraft is to burn witches may fairly be accused of superstition,
since there is no such thing as witchcraft. But a man who says the
way to stop delinquency is to whip delinquents is not super-
stitious but myth-minded. He knows that in general pain has a
deterrent effect on behavior and that whipping is a way of in-
flicting pain, but he does not *know* that whipping any particular
delinquent will actually stop that child's delinquency. He does
not actually *know* whether whipping is more or less effective than
friendship or imprisonment or some other method of treatment.
He believes it is, but—note this—he is not suggesting a hypothesis
for experimentation. He is demanding action, and action in
terms of his own belief. He *thinks* he has the answer. This is
myth-mindedness—the leap from unverified belief to action;
cause-and-effect consciousness, but not cause-and-effect clarity. In
the evolution from superstition to science, both in the history of
culture and in the development of the individual, myth-minded-
ness occupies a great middle zone. Men were cause-and-effect
conscious for ages before the development of modern scientific
method made it possible for them to be cause-and-effect clear.
Today the child is aware of cause-and-effect relationships long
before he can be certain of when, where, and how they operate.
Unless he makes a distinct and purposeful effort he never does
attain clarity about their operation in society. In his social
opinions he remains on the level of the myth-minded. And that
is the point.

3. *Cause-mindedness.*[3]—Ever since the coming of the machine more and more men more and more of the time have had to acquire causal clarity in their dealings with material things. Not only have they had to give up thinking in terms of "spirits" and "will" in their dealings with binders and punch presses and railroad engines and motor cars and radio sets, but they have had to learn to seek actual specific causes for actual specific events. Veblen long ago called attention to this tendency. But the expected carry-over to social situations has hardly even begun. For dealing with the physical world—for starting a furnace fire, building a bridge, removing an abdominal pain—the average man behaves neither on the level of superstition nor on that of myth-mindedness, but on a purely modern level, *cause-mindedness.* He assumes that the road to mastery lies in (a) positing the dependability of the world, (b) discovering specific cause-and-effect relationships, (c) inventing methods of utilizing those relationships, and (d) then applying the methods. That is the taken-for-granted pattern of behavior for physical situations. But it is the rare and exceptional pattern for social situations, the almost unheard-of pattern for dealing with crime. Why?

Probably for two reasons: (1) the seductive plausibility of traditional, myth-minded answers and (2) the formidable obscurity of causation itself in personal and social situations.

1. The seductive plausibility of traditional, myth-minded answers. For generations culture has had to "explain" why children behave as they do. At any given time these "explanations" express the prevalent world-view. When superstition was the dominant mind-set, chronic misbehavior was the outcome of witchcraft, possession by the devil or similar unlucky contacts with the spirit world. Later, emotionally rebellious boys like Johnny came to be regarded as "naturally mean," or "just stubborn," or marked by the characteristics of some disreputable relative—"just exactly like his good-for-nothing Uncle Jake." All this, of course, implied a tacit recognition of some kind of causal relationship between the objectionable behavior and something else. So in a

[3] Cause-mindedness refers here to an attitude or point of view, i.e., to a certain philosophical assumption, *the assumption that phenomena occur in or through certain causal relationships.* The nature of these relationships is a philosophical rather than a scientific problem.

general way, partly because such explanations did become traditional and partly because they seemed to supply a frame of reference that made sense according to the ideas of the time, they were accepted; they became part of the myth-mind. And because more specific causal relationships had not been made clear they passed muster as the small change, so to speak, of commonsense give-and-take. They could pass all the more readily because of the obscurity of causal relationships.

2. The formidable obscurity of causation itself in personal and social situations. When your car stopped it was easy for any expert mechanic to demonstrate the connection between the faulty timer and the stoppage: all he had to do was to readjust the timer and your engine "ticked" once more. But when Johnny began to disobey, no such simple one-to-one demonstration was possible. Suppose you had guessed that possibly your placing of the boy in his grandmother's home was responsible for his misbehavior, and suppose you had brought him back to his own home. Now unlike the faulty timer, Johnny has a certain inner momentum, or drive, of his own. Restoring him to his own home might have quieted that inner drive for the time being or it might merely have stimulated it to test your new attitude. Instead of accepting the new situation at face value—"ticking" again as your motor did—Johnny might have set out deliberately to find out whether you really wanted him home or not. Thus instead of restoring everything to normal, as the readjustment of the timer restored your motor, your "readjustment" of Johnny's living arrangements to what once had been normal might very well have created a whole new series of "boy failures." So obviously causation in personal and social situations is not so simple as it is in mechanical matters.

Nevertheless, causal relationships still exist in such situations and it is the business of the so-called social sciences to determine what those relationships are. The fact that this task is at present more difficult than the task of the physical scientist in most physical situations does not relieve the ordinary person from the mental obligation to face his social world with the modern rather than the myth-minded, traditional point of view. That scientists themselves are not primarily concerned with causation as such

but take it for granted is here beside the point.[4] Scientists are seeking objective uniformities in the phenomena about them. Described in words or mathematical symbols, these uniformities are called scientific laws. Two kinds of scientific laws can be distinguished: *positive laws,* or invariant relationships between phenomena, and *statistical laws,* or statements of probability. That any physical body falling freely in a vacuum moves at a speed which has a definite relationship to the time during which it has been in motion is an invariant uniformity that may be expressed in a positive law. But that any child picked at random between the ages of ten and seventeen will be taken to court as a delinquent during the next twelve months cannot be expressed as a positive uniformity of any kind. The best we can do is to say that on the average the chances are about one in a hundred that such a youngster will be taken in as a delinquent during the next year. We can only state a degree of probability, not an invariant certainty. Unquestionably this complicates the scientific task in social situations, *but it does not eliminate the obligation to think causally with reference to such situations.* Because family troubles, economic pressures, neighborhood associates, personality handicaps, and other variables in a behavior situation interact in such complicated ways that no invariant relationship between any one of them and the ultimate behavior can be established— all this does not in any way eliminate these variables as factors conditioning and controlling that ultimate behavior. We shall deal with this more in detail in Chapter IV when we discuss the question, "Why maladjustment and delinquency?" For the present the point remains: the obscurity of causation in personal and social situations may be part of the reason why myth-mindedness with reference to such situations persists. But it is no reason why educated people, people whose entire lives are posited on the dependability of the universe, on the *necessity* of uniformities, should continue as "philosophical schizoids." Philosophically it is positively indecent to accept causality for motor cars and radio sets and to try to ignore it in the handling of our children.

[4] Karl Pearson in *The Grammar of Science* long ago pointed out that causation is a philosophical problem. What scientists study is "concomitant variations," i.e., things that vary together.

The Menace of the Myth-mind

The first step, then, in applying the scientific technology to crime control must be the conscious, deliberate step up from myth-mindedness to cause-mindedness. We must realize that myth-mindedness is as out of date as belief in witches. But because it is so prevalent and so completely dominates our thinking about social matters, myth-mindedness is vastly more important than superstition. It is vastly more dangerous. A few centuries ago when people still believed in human sacrifice or in the disease-discouraging potency of dead men's bones it was a matter of vital importance to human progress that superstition be conquered. The cause-mind has accomplished that conquest. Outside of the backwaters of our culture, superstition is no longer a menace. But the myth-mind still is. Men are willing to advocate capital punishment, the legalization of prostitution, the continuance of child labor, and a hundred other measures without actually knowing anything whatever about cause and effect in such matters. With complete ignorance of the crucial facts; with utter intellectual irresponsibility, i.e., no sense that opinions *should* be based on knowledge; with only a strong emotional urge to action and a traditional belief that has never been critically examined; with nothing, in short, but a muddleheadedness of which he is blissfully unaware, the average man is perfectly willing to invoke measures that vitally affect the lives and happiness of hundreds or thousands or even millions of human beings.

If this were a unique reaction confined to a few persons or to a single issue, no great harm would be done. But it is typical of the way in which millions of Americans respond not merely to crime but to any social problem. On the basis of common sense only (which means almost complete ignorance of the crucial facts—as shown, for example, by a straw vote that approved the legalization of prostitution to control syphilis), with no appreciation of their own ignorance and no saving sense that in the words of Cromwell, "By the bowels of Christ, gentlemen, bethink ye that ye may be wrong," they are perfectly willing to "treat prisoners rough," "crush" strikes, "dictate to employers," "put Negroes in their place," advocate popular referenda on foreign policy, and settle a hundred other issues involving the welfare of

actual human beings. Can there be any question that·this kind of behavior is every whit as disreputable as superstition? That under modern conditions, when any fool can aim a machine gun or propound a new nostrum to save the world, it is vastly more dangerous? Superstition has been driven into the slums and back-waters of civilization, but myth-mindedness flourishes in every Rotary Club, P.T.A., and·meeting of the Bar. It is the current, everyday frame of mind of the average American facing his social world. As compared with superstition, which once slew its mil-lions, myth-mindedness by perpetuating crime, poverty, and war seems in a fair way to slay its tens of millions, yes, even civiliza-tion itself. If the cause-mind could make superstition ridiculous, it is high time it made myth-mindedness impossible too.

THE OBLIGATION TO BE CONTEMPORARY

The plain truth is that for the average man there is no ap-preciable carry-over of adjustment techniques from physical to social situations. An automobile stops for definite, ascertainable causes, but Johnny becomes delinquent because of "original sin" or because he was "naturally mean" or because of some other traditional, stereotyped explanation. We still react to crime as though it were really quite simple; as though no particular skill were required to redirect human behavior; as though every drug salesman, bus driver or chambermaid could give the answer—in short, as though there were no such disciplines as sociology, social psychology, criminology, psychiatry, and no techniques of social work and correctional practice. Even competent physicists, geol-ogists, engineers, men who make their living by careful scientific thinking eight or ten hours a day, show almost no capacity at all to use the scientific pattern of thought when confronted with a rebellious son at home or a delinquency area in the next ward.

But even that is not the worst of it. The most serious reflection on the American school system is that such highly educated men seem utterly *unaware* that they are not thinking scientifically about their social environment, unaware that their naïve, tradi-tional beliefs are utterly inadequate as a basis for social action in a world that their own physical sciences have made over. Ap-parently the generation of adults now running the United States have never in all their lives been trained in any way to apply to

social phenomena the same pattern of behavior that has become second nature for them in their dealings with the physical world. Facing the complexities of a social world reeling under the hammer blows of modern science, modern engineering, modern warfare, they can only repeat old stereotypes and turn to the past, not merely for principles but *actually for specific programs of action!* As though any prison program, for example, adopted before the rise of modern psychology, psychiatry, and social work could be worth the powder needed to blow it up!

Whether you like this or not is beside the point. Ask yourself a simple question. Have you ever in all your life followed the scientist's familiar action pattern in dealing with a *social problem*—the behavior of your son, the prevalence of poverty, the condition of Negroes? Have you assembled the facts? Have you unemotionally located and classified the obstacle or causes of the trouble? Have you sought the advice of experts in the field? Have you followed the expert's advice *whether you liked it or not?* If you have, you are one in a thousand—more probably one in a hundred thousand. If you haven't, what right do you have to an opinion anyway? What do you know about delinquency, or crime, or any other social problem? How do you know that you aren't a liability to your own family, to your town, to the United States?

Occasionally some adolescent, struggling to find sense in a chaotic world, reacts against parental misunderstanding by running away or killing himself or making an incredible marriage. For one such case of parental blundering exposed there are probably hundreds that never come to public notice. How do you *know* you aren't contributing to some such case of maladjustment at this moment? Your sense of self-assurance isn't an answer. Do you *know* what you are doing to your children? Do you *know* what you are doing to the children of your neighbors and friends in your town? Do you *know* the simplest facts about any institution in your town?

If your son were to die of diphtheria after you had refused antitoxin in favor of a rabbit's foot, your superstitious belief would make you guilty of something closely resembling manslaughter. Without the shadow of a doubt, in most states, you could be prosecuted for neglect or something worse. But if your son merely became delinquent and wound up as a master crim-

inal because you had been clinging to some outworn belief about filial duty and the power of exhortation, you could escape scot-free. There are even good people who would agree with you that you had done your best but the Lord had given you too heavy a burden! It is time such twaddle should be recognized for what it is—twaddle. A parent's refusal to obtain expert guidance in such a case is merely the old preference for the rabbit's foot masquerading on the level of the myth-mind. A blind infatuation with one's own beliefs about one's children or one's community or even one's nation is no more respectable than blind infatuation with a rabbit's foot: "By the bowels of Christ, gentlemen, bethink ye that ye may be wrong!"

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. In 1940 approximately one person in five of employable age in the United States had no job provided by private employment. Do you agree that the United States has come reasonably close to solving the problem of production?
2. What are the agencies of social control in your community?
3. What is the theory of cultural lag (consult any standard textbook on sociology), and how would you relate it to "the ox cart on Main Street"?
4. Why are people more likely to take a defective automobile to a garage than to consult a behavior specialist concerning an unruly child? How many reasons can you think of?
5. How would you have handled the problem of moving Johnny to his grandmother's, had you been the boy's father or mother?
6. Define superstition and give three examples from contemporary American culture. What is your ground for calling these examples of superstition?
7. Define myth-mindedness. Give an original example.
8. Define cause-mindedness and distinguish it from myth-mindedness.
9. In the light of this chapter what would you say should be done to reduce the rising number of violent sex crimes in the United States?
10. How can myth-mindedness be perpetuating poverty and war?
11. What is "the most serious reflection on the American school system," referred to in the chapter?

Chapter II

Science, Technology, and Social Problems

Is SCIENCE READY?

It is estimated that 1 per cent of the children, ten to sixteen years old, inclusive, in the United States reach the juvenile courts of this country each year as delinquents, and several times as many more commit delinquent acts for which they are not immediately taken to court. Do scientists and social engineers know enough to make any substantial reduction in the number of these neophytes of crime? Without the shadow of a doubt they do, but whether their knowledge will ever be applied skillfully enough, whether it will ever be applied skillfully enough on a large enough scale over a long enough period of time—that's a horse of a different color. The great development of social work, with its obvious religious motivations, is sufficient evidence that long since many people have come to see that between good intentions and effective action it is necessary to interpose something more dependable than rule of thumb or spontaneous invention. Hence the skilled techniques of casework, group work, clinical psychology, psychiatry, and community organization.

But oddly enough, at this point, one little detail that seems to be obvious is usually ignored. This is the evident fact that, no matter how skilled, techniques do not apply themselves. Scientists may know what causes cancer; medical technicians may have developed techniques for controlling cancer. But until provision has been made for putting those techniques to work on actual patients, cancer must continue to flourish. In other words, beyond mere scientific understanding of causes and beyond the technical contribution of skilled methodology there still stands the need of social action to put the technicians to work and of social organization to keep them at work. At the beginning of the fifth decade of the twentieth century that was essentially the Achilles' heel of the attack on crime in the United States. Soci-

ologists had long since described the home and community backgrounds of personal maladjustments. Medical researchers had revealed the importance of malnutrition, glandular imbalance, inherited weaknesses. Psychologists had measured mental traits and appraised personality differences. Psychiatrists had explored emotional patterns, the effects of parental rejection, sibling rivalry, the dynamisms of personality. Social workers, physicians, teachers, clinicians, all had developed techniques of treatment. But outside of a few clinics, a few of the more advanced schools, a handful of the more enlightened juvenile courts, a few social agencies in the great cities—outside of these, not 10 per cent of what was actually known about how to control behavior was actually in practice. What little skilled knowledge was being used was probably reaching less than 1 per cent of the families that needed to be reached. The great majority of the schools, courts, churches, police departments, and social agencies in the United States were not using the latest methods of demonstrated effectiveness for the discovery, diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of behavior problems.

WHY SOCIAL ACTION LAGS

Why? Admit the great part played by complacency and routine. Beyond all that there was still the fact that the great majority of the people who were attempting to solve social problems and the control of crime in particular still went about their work in the comforting assurance that man is essentially a logical animal and that to set him in motion one need only show that a given course of action is the logical, sensible thing to do. Of course that belief merely ignored all that modern psychology had revealed in the last generation about the nature of habit and all that modern psychiatry had discovered about the nature of the emotions. It ignored the revelations of sociology about group life and culture, those of economics about the struggle for status, those of political science concerning the nature of propaganda. To expect legislative or administrative officials to appropriate money for the employment of trained social workers, correctional workers, psychologists, and psychiatrists, merely because the adequate treatment of problem children was impossible without them, was as naïve in its way as to appeal to Herr Hitler for peace. Men seldom do

anything merely because it is the theoretically logical thing to do. Hence we face the need of approaching any social problem, and particularly the control of crime, with full awareness that the weak spot in the application of the scientific technology to the solution of social problems has been a romantic, unrealistic theory of social action which comes down from the nineteenth century.

THE CONQUEST OF TUBERCULOSIS

For light on the solution of any social problem of this type— i.e., a problem on which there is wide agreement on norms—let us examine the way in which the big problem of tuberculosis is actually approaching solution. It is unnecessary to point out that for generations before Koch's discovery of the tubercle bacillus in 1882 there had been a long cultural preparation. For generations men had been experimenting blindly with this cure and that. As early as 1808, for example, Nathaniel Bowditch, the celebrated mathematician, had treated himself by the open-air method.[1] A generation later, in 1843, Dr. William A. McDougell published *The Curability of Pulmonary Tuberculosis in All Its Stages*, based on his own experiments which he found had demonstrated the value of four meals a day, outdoor air, graduated exercise. Also long before Koch the communicability of tuberculosis had been recognized. Between 1868 and 1875 the New York City commissioner of health, Dr. Stephen Smith, had tried vainly to have tuberculosis made reportable—a fight that was not won, by the way, till a generation later, in 1907. Even after the causal agent had been identified by Koch's discovery the problem still remained how to control the spread and development of the bacilli. Koch had no answer. The actual answer is a monument to cooperative endeavor. Scientists contributed definite information from time to time, but it was the medical technicians and the educators, physicians, propagandists, and social organizers who invented the specific behavior patterns needed to control tuberculosis and secured their acceptance by the laity. It was not the scientists alone but all these people working together who disseminated those patterns through the consultation room, the

[1] S. Adolphus Knops, *A History of the National Tuberculosis Association*, New York, 1922, pp. 4-5.

schools, the press, and the lecture platform. Given the individual's desire to live, plus the cultural assumption that all people's lives are worth saving, education, agitation, and social organization could put the scientists' knowledge to work.

It was one tuberculosis victim himself, Dr. Edward L. Trudeau, who, stumbling on the fresh-air-sunshine-rest-good-food formula, took the lead in popularizing that type of treatment to the laity. It was a group of practicing physicians and practical publicists who, realizing that all the science in the world is useless until the patient reaches the doctor, organized the American Anti-Tuberculosis Society in 1904 to educate tuberculosis out of the American people. The Society proceeded to push the fight on many fronts. The scientific search for chemicals that will directly eliminate the tubercle bacillus without eliminating the patient still goes on. But in the meantime the Society has assisted in developing and disseminating improved techniques of diagnosis, treatment, and prevention. It has encouraged wider use of the X-ray and thoracic surgery. It has drummed away for more and better sanatoria. It has publicized skin tests. Gradually in various ways it has brought to the aid of the medical technician not only better scientific tools but an awakened consciousness on the part of laymen, a wider knowledge of the insidious nature of the disease, a greater willingness to seek expert assistance early, and, more important still, greater willingness to vote money for prevention.

The measure of the success of this combined attack by scientists, medical technicians, educators, and social organizers is the fall in the tuberculosis death rate since the days of grope and blunder. In 1836 tuberculosis killed over 400 per 100,000 in the United States; in 1936, only 50 per 100,000. The difference represents a saving in the present population of more than *400,000 lives a year.* By 1939 authorities were predicting that within another century tuberculosis might become extinct in the United States.

Why? Not merely because of the work of Koch and other scientists but because that work had been taken by medical technicians and put to practical use; had been taken by medical educators and taught in medical schools; and had been taken by publicists like the Anti-Tuberculosis Society and put into the · public schools and into the consciousness of millions of people

outside the schools. And when all this had been done it was prac-
tical business men, politicians, and legislators who voted money
for the hospitals and sanatoria. The scientists were indispensable,
but without the medical technicians, the educators, and the
social organizers their work would have borne no practical
results.

Science locked up in its laboratory is useless. It must be taken
out of the laboratory by the inventor, the technician, the edu-
cator, the publicists, the social organizers before it can go to work.
That is the way the conquest of tuberculosis has been contrived,
and that is the way a successful attack on any similar social
problem must be contrived once the problem has reached the
point at which science can be used at all.

THE CONDITIONS OF THE SCIENTIFIC TECHNOLOGY

From this example it is possible to state (1) the conditions
under which the scientific technology may be used and (2) the
elements of that technology itself.

*A problem must reach a certain stage of social acceptance and
development before the scientific technology becomes applicable.*
Laymen and scientific men alike on occasion seem to assume that
"scientific methods" can be applied to any kind of practical prob-
lem at any time. The science-to-the-rescue movement appa ently
rests on some such naïve point of view.[2] Actually the most ele-
mentary analysis shows that the scientific technology can solve
problems only when the problems have reached a certain readi-
ness for solution.

1. *The scientific technology cannot even be applied to a prob-
lem situation when the people who dominate such a situation
deny that any problem exists.* Modern medical technology, for

[2] At the Richmond, Va., meeting of the American Academy for the Ad-
vancement of Science, December, 1938, many leaders of natural science in
the western world voiced sentiments which implied that since the super-man,
the scientist, had produced the airplane but the ape-man now had control
of it, the super-men should forthwith devote themselves to correcting the
mistake. As Waldemar Kaempffert, science editor of the *New York Times*,
remarked concerning this idea, "It is not ape-men who are prostituting
science, but society itself. The real task of the scientist is to make society
fit for science, but before that can be undertaken the scientist will have to
settle in his own mind what kind of society he wants." *New York Times*,
January 1, 1939.

example, cannot do anything for the ailing son of religious fanatics who persistently deny that the child is ill. Unless the parents change their minds or the child is legally taken from their control, the finest medical experts in the world are helpless. Likewise it is useless to offer psychiatric assistance to school authorities who deny that they have any problem children in their classes. The scientific technology can be applied only when the people dominating a problem situation admit that a problem exists.

2. *There is no chance to use the scientific technology, even when a problem situation is recognized, so long as the life philosophies, religions, or what-have-you of those affected lead them to feel that the solution must be left to chance, to "preestablished harmony," or to God.* The suggestion that scientific information might have been utilized, for example, to plan a way out of the depression left individualists of the Herbert Hoover school absolutely cold. According to the philosophy of individualism, depressions are not to be overcome by tinkering with the preestablished harmony of the capitalist economy. Let the unfortunates starve or go bankrupt; the economic system will right itself after the weaklings have been washed overboard.[3]

Such religious or mystical theories about the processes of social adjustment bar the scientific technology at the start. So long as you know that God will intervene to cure your afflicted son, why bother with pediatricians, psychiatrists, or social workers?

3. *Neither can you use the scientific technology successfully, even when men admit the existence of a problem and agree on the value of scientific methods, unless they also agree on specific objectives.* The board of directors that could not agree whether to build a railroad or a hospital, or whether to build their railroad east toward New York or south toward New Orleans, would hardly be ready to turn the technicians loose to locate the right of way and spike down the track. They might conceivably turn them loose to collect more data on which to base a later decision, but the immediate objective then would be not New York or New Orleans but more data. Science and technology are tools. You can play with tools and mess around with them but you cannot construct anything with them merely by accident. Automo-

[3] Yet the stress of circumstances forced even President Hoover to approve government aid to hard-pressed business organizations.

biles are built and appendices removed only because men know how to use the necessary tools and have definite purposes that they determine to achieve. Once they begin debating whether it is worth while to build automobiles or whether it is quite sporting to remove the condemned murderer's appendix, that moment production stops. The finest tools in the world are useless until men will to use them.

WANTED: LESS COUGH SYRUP, FEWER FAITH HEALERS

The bald fact is that for the solution of most social problems we have not yet willed to use the tools that we have. The reasons range all the way from supernaturalism to economic determinism, all the way from preconceptions about "God's will" to lack of confidence in the administration at Washington. But for whatever reasons, the fact remains that for the control of crime, the reduction of poverty, and scores of other social problems we have never yet applied the scientific technology *as we have applied it to the control of tuberculosis.* Do we find general agreement among thinking people that such problems as crime and poverty do exist? Then we find violent disagreement immediately, first over the possibility of doing anything about them and second over what specifically needs to be done. In effect, we find many people saying with reference to crime, poverty, and war, for example, that "tuberculosis" is part of the natural order of things and can't be controlled. Or if control is conceded to be possible, then Chief River Root's Indian Cough Syrup is hailed as the stuff that will do the job—despite several-odd centuries of failure up to date. For still others who have begun to question the efficacy of cough syrup there are new and formidable-looking faith healers who have just come to town and are said to work miracles for folks who will give them a mortgage on the old farm and don't mind convalescing in the cowshed (or concentration camp). The fact that the "death rate" keeps on climbing is pointed to as prima facie evidence, of course, not that a little science might help, but that we aren't yet using *enough* cough syrup or that too many unrepentant sinners still *defy God's will* by preferring their own homes to the cowshed (concentration camp).

All these matters, like certain details in *The Mikado,* will no

doubt adjust themselves in time, but meanwhile the rest of us who are fed up with cough syrup and can't see the faith healers for the concentration camps may be interested in really trying out the scientific technology some time. So far, aside from manufacturing, transportation, warfare, and a few other practical pursuits, we've tried it mainly to protect health. The present state of the world suggests the possibility that enough people may presently be wanting results in other fields to justify an examination of the ways and means of applying the scientific technology to other social problems.

We have just noted the conditions precedent to any attempt to do this: (1) general agreement among the people who dominate a problem situation that a problem does actually exist; (2) agreement that chance, preestablished harmony, or supernatural powers are not likely to solve the difficulty; and (3) a fairly general agreement on specific objectives.

Given these conditions, what are the elements of the scientific technology which is to be used?

THE ELEMENTS OF THE SCIENTIFIC TECHNOLOGY

From our brief description of the attack on tuberculosis it is possible to distinguish four elements essential to the solution of such a problem:

1. *Scientific research.*

2. *Specific techniques* of case-finding, treatment, and prevention.

3. *Social action* to provide the machinery for putting these techniques into operation.

4. *Social organization and administration*—the actual organization and operation of the specific agencies or institutions brought into being by social action.

This book is an attempt to formulate the problem of delinquency control in these terms: *research, technology, social action,* and *social organization.*

It is based squarely on the belief that up to date the control of delinquency has suffered not only from inadequate scientific knowledge but also from the inadequacy of many of the techniques used and more especially from the failure of social action and social organization to bring into use, on a scale commensurate

with the problem, more than a fraction of what is known and what could be applied. It is not a textbook in scientific research, in social work techniques, in social action, or in social organization or administration. Each of those is a separate field which anyone with a vocational interest in the control of delinquency must explore for himself. Our present concern is solely with the problem of delinquency control through the *thinking together* of a great many facts, techniques, plans of social action, and forms of social organization for a common purpose. Only as all of these separate techniques—scientific research, social work, social action, social organization and administration—are thought-together can the separate specialists be brought into useful cooperation with one another; and more important still, only in that way can the interaction of technician and layman which is essential to any ultimate solution be vitalized and set in motion.

THE CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION

The implications of this approach are far-reaching, not only for social workers and correctional officers but for educators and lay and religious leaders of local communities as well.

Because of the nature of social action and social organization no group of specialists can solve such a problem by itself. As in the attack on tuberculosis, the cooperation of lay and expert leadership is equally essential for the attack on delinquency.

As for education, probably a radical reorganization of current methods of instruction, at least in the elementary and secondary grades, would seem to be indicated. Problem-solving in the ordinary classroom is still dominated by either the classical or the natural-science method of obtaining answers in terms of one special technique. Children are given problems *in* arithmetic, *in* reading, *in* history, *in* physics, and so on. This is fine for developing subject-matter skills which everyone agrees children need, but not so good for developing practical-problem skills. For the characteristic of a practical problem as distinguished from a subject-matter problem is that it always requires the mobilization of many subject-matter plus commonsense skills—hand skills, verbal skills, skills in dealing with personalities, skills in sizing up and adjusting to new situations, and so on. True, the project method has broken away from the old subject-matter drill, but

the problem involved in preparing an exhibit on Mexico, for example, is not at all the kind of problem created by the presence of Mexicans in the community. To what extent can the school equip its pupils with skills for solving that kind of problem? To date the project method has not carried us very far. Obviously if the scientific technology is to be applied to such a problem as the presence of Mexicans in a community, the schools must train pupils not merely to remember certain facts about Mexico and Mexicans and to appreciate Mexican culture but also *to use the special techniques of social problem-solving, namely, research, specific adjustment techniques, social action, and social organization.* The task of education for the solution of social problems—immigration, delinquency, or others of that class—would seem, then, to be one not merely of instruction in subject-matter skills or even in the mobilization of subject-matter and practical skills but of *training pupils in the art of inducing, maintaining, and organizing cooperation among specialists and laymen.*

WHERE SCIENTIFIC TECHNOLOGY DOES NOT APPLY

As a corollary to the discussion of the conditions precedent to the application of the scientific technology, it should, perhaps, be pointed out specifically that problems which arise primarily out of fundamental conflicts over values, divergent norms, and so on cannot be solved in this way. Such problems as democracy vs. totalitarianism, the nature of God, the meaning of life, the control of the industrial system, and the control of war—all such problems would seem to involve such fundamental value-conflicts that insufficient agreement exists for the application of the scientific technology. Since some of the most vital problems of the age are of this sort, it is obvious that the scientific technology is distinctly limited in its scope.

How to solve problems to which scientific technology does not apply is beyond the competence of this book. As a matter of fact, since our interest is the control of crime and more specifically in the control of juvenile delinquency, we shall limit ourselves even among the problems to which the scientific technology does apply. Although no ultimate solution of delinquency control can be envisaged without at least a partial solution of the problems of

poverty, housing, and unemployment, the technical aspects of these problems are so complicated and the problem of delinquency control itself is so complex that we shall have more than we can handle even in the narrow field of delinquency control alone.

NOR SHRINK FROM SHADOWS

Of course it is impossible to ignore the tremendous inter-relatedness of modern culture and its overwhelming uncertainties. If we discuss delinquency control and say little about economic disorganization, it is not because the behavior of children is unaffected by the insecurities and vicissitudes of industry. If we discuss community organization and say nothing of world organization, it is not because the ominous drift of western civilization does not overshadow every other problem.

The multitude and magnitude of the social problems around us may well make any discussion of one by itself seem piffling and unimportant. No doubt the problem of disease control must have seemed equally overwhelming to Galen and Harvey and Jenner.

But we are committed to the task of trying to make intelligence count in the control of life, and the only feasible line of advance is to master the conditions of our difficulties one by one. If the rate of social change is outrunning the rate of mastery, that in itself becomes a problem of primary importance. But it is a problem with which we are not concerned in this book.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What does the author call the Achilles' heel of the attack on crime in the United States?
2. What is the "romantic, unrealistic theory of social action" that hampers the control of crime?
3. Justify the statement: Science has not conquered tuberculosis.
4. How has it been conquered?
5. What are the conditions precedent to the use of the scientific technology?
6. Give an example of "Chief River Root's Indian Cough Syrup" in the treatment of behavior difficulties.
7. What are the four elements of the scientific technology as applied to social problems?

8. What vocational training would one interested in this field require?
9. What is defined as the task of education in training pupils for the solution of social problems?
10. To what types of problem does the scientific technology not apply?
11. What are some of the broader problems making uncertain the outcome of even the most scientific attack on the problem of delinquency control?

THE SCIENTIFIC PHASE

Delinquency Control as a Social Problem

APPLYING THE SCIENTIFIC TECHNOLOGY TO CRIME CONTROL

The scientific technology, as we have said, can be applied to any social problem about which enough individuals can agree on specific objectives to make possible the carrying through of four phases of action: first, *the scientific determination of causal factors*; second, *the development of specific techniques* for controlling the incidence of these factors; third, *the organization of social action*; and fourth, *the organization of specific agencies or institutions* for the application of these techniques on a scale commensurate with the problem. We shall consider each of these phases in this book. For the moment the questions are, What in its broad outlines is the situation that confronts us? What is the volume and cost of crime? What is the relation of juvenile delinquency to crime? And what is the extent and cost of juvenile delinquency itself?

THE VOLUME AND COST OF CRIME

The average citizen, despite newspaper headlines, has little conception of the magnitude and menace of crime in the United States. Homer S. Cummings, Attorney-General of the United States, declared in a public address in 1938:

Every twenty-two seconds, hour after hour, day after day, a crime of desperate proportions—robbery, assault, burglary, rape, kidnaping, manslaughter, murder—was committed in the United States last year.

Over a twelve-month period nearly one million five hundred thousand such major crimes were committed—a crime against one out of every eighty-four American citizens, affecting one out of every sixteen American homes.

Thirteen thousand five hundred of our citizens were murdered. That was at the rate of thirty-seven a day. Sixty thousand were robbed and

over forty-five thousand assaults were committed last year. And the menace is growing every day.

The science of crime prevention, in spite of all the strides we have made, is still in the horseback stage of its development.

As J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the G-men, told the Boy Scout convention at the New York World's Fair in 1939, criminals outnumber the 1,200,000 Scouts in the United States nearly four to one.

In some parts of the country it is actually a question whether thugs or decent people are sovereign in the community. Facing such incidents as Lindbergh's removal of his second son to England for protection against kidnapers, the St. Valentine Day "massacre" in Chicago, and the repeated revelations of the political ramifications of the underworld in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Kansas City and other cities, the dull facts of the Department of Justice's millions of criminal fingerprints and the $750,000,000 to $18,000,000,000 estimates of the nation's annual crime bill come alive with a new meaning. Certainly a forced "tax" by crookdom each year of more than orderly government can raise for education makes one wonder what sovereignty amounts to if it cannot protect its own people against such tribute. Conservative estimates indicate that in 1939 armed gunmen probably outnumbered the United States regular army more than two to one, and man for man their deadliness compared not unfavorably with that of the German Army during the first World War. It took approximately 2,000,000 Germans five months of actual fighting to kill 52,000 American soldiers in the field, an average of one dead American soldier for every 192 Germans per month. On the crime front in America, meanwhile, year after year without any armistice or treaty of peace, 500,000 armed criminals "bump off" over 1000 every month, or one dead American civilian per month for every 500 armed criminals. Man for man, this gives the American "crime army" 38 per cent of the lethal efficiency of the Imperial German Army in the field— which, in view of the fact that our thugs have not yet taken to artillery, air bombs, or poison gas, is a very creditable showing indeed! As a matter of fact, since the underworld never lays down its arms, the net results of this kind of guerilla warfare for the twenty years from the armistice, November 11, 1918, to the end

of 1938 amounted to more than half of the total Union losses in
the Civil War, or to 61 per cent *more than the total American
losses in the first World War!* Actually, from the bombardment
of Fort Sumter to the Roosevelt rearmament program in 1939
crime killed at least half as many Americans as all the wars of
those seventy-eight years, and the victims received no pensions![1]
Here is something else for our peace societies to worry about.
There is no doubt whatever that the deadliness of our criminal
population is nothing to laugh off. Our 30,000,000 automobiles,
for example, average only a little over one one-thousandth of a
victim per car per year, but our criminals with over 12,000
murders a year can claim a lethal efficiency *per operating unit* at
least ten times as great. If slaughter by automobile deserves an
Automotive Safety Foundation, what about the slaughter by
crookdom?

THE SHADOW ON DEMOCRACY

Beyond the killings and the cost in dollars there is the cost in
poor government and in the growing menace to democracy.
Throughout America runs the vitiating influence of this criminal
horde with its dope rings, its traffic in women, its slimy alliance
with crooked politicians, crooked business, crooked labor—with
the fascist-minded everywhere. The real significance of modern
crime must be studied against the somber backdrop of gangster
government in Europe. If the decline of democracy across the
ocean has seen the rise of gangster leaders from beer halls to
chancelleries, America cannot afford to forget that during this
same period of post-war lawlessness powerful gangster leaders
likewise intrenched themselves in American cities. In Europe
gangsters and gangster methods became instruments of revolu-
tion; here for excellent reasons inherent in our culture they
became merely the tools and allies of corrupt politicians. But we
have only to envision a situation compounded of widespread

[1] Total deaths: Civil War, Union, 359,529; Confederate, 133,821. Spanish-
American War, 8000. World War, 126,000. Indian Wars (estimated) 10,000.
Grand total, 637,250. Homicides, 1860-1938, inclusive (estimated), 400,000.
Homicides, 1919-38, inclusive, on basis of average homicide rate of 8.5 per
100,000 for the period, 203,830. During the last quarter-century the homicide
rate has been rising from 6.6 in 1912 to 9.5 in 1934. Only partially accounted
for by improved reporting of crimes.

economic breakdown, middle-class panic, threats of communist violence, and over all a numbing sense of the failure of democratic institutions and paralysis at Washington—one has only to envisage such a situation to sense something of the opportunity that it would offer to some corrupt politician to "sell" Big Business and the middle classes a racketeer's revolution—"protection" guaranteed by putting gangsters above the law![2]

As a local method of redistributing wealth pragmatically without ideological or revolutionary overtones, this technique of putting gangsters above the law has been tried for varying periods in New York, Chicago, and other cities, as the Hines trial, the Chicago vice reports, and other investigations have shown. But racketeers exploiting a furtive accommodation *to* the state should not be confused with gangsters brazenly and triumphantly parading *as* the state. That difference measures the distance between democracy in America and fascism in Europe. It is a gulf that no mere gangster can bridge. But events can bridge it, and democracy stands in a great shadow as it watches cataclysmic events in Europe.

So we confront crime as a major menace to the safety, happiness, and future of the American people.

What has juvenile delinquency to do with it?

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY—BROADEST GATEWAY TO CRIME

So far as the meager statistics go, it would appear that from 50 to 85 per cent of all prisoners begin their anti-social behavior in childhood. This means that the broadest single gateway to crime is juvenile delinquency. Undoubtedly the facts are even more significant. Many maladjusted individuals like the notorious killer, John Dillinger, who are not detected in law violations until they have reached the jurisdiction of the criminal courts, are started on their way by the very same conditions that produce delinquency in other children. And the vast majority of those emotional difficulties that eventually provide the mental patients to fill 47 per cent of all the hospital beds in the United States begin in childhood. Hence if an effective attack could be made on the factors producing juvenile delinquency, it should

[2] See Stanley High, "Star Spangled Fascists," *Saturday Evening Post,* May 27, 1939, for data on this very development.

be possible to reduce not merely the number of delinquent juveniles but ultimately the number of adult criminals and mental patients as well—nay, even to reduce the enormous number of those non-institutionalized misfits who live useless, unhappy, and non-productive lives.[3]

This is the significance of reducing juvenile delinquency: *The same effort that cuts the volume of delinquent juveniles must inevitably cut the number of criminals, mental cases, and social misfits.*

THE VOLUME OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

On the basis of reports to the Federal Children's Bureau from 462 courts serving 36 per cent of the population of the United States, it is estimated that approximately 1 per cent of the nation's 17,000,000 children, 10 to 16, inclusive, pass through our juvenile courts each year as delinquents. During 1937 these 462 courts in 30 different states and the District of Columbia reported 78,688 delinquency cases, approximately one-seventh of them girls and six-sevenths boys.[4] Complete state figures are available in the federal reports only for a few states, and from those only for a few years. In Michigan, which collects statistics from each of its 83 juvenile courts, a child population of about 700,000 of court age produces between 5000 and 6000 alleged delinquents every year. In 1932-33 and 1934-35 a child population of 622,227 (1930 census) produced 10,519, or an average of 5259.5 a year, a rate of 8.4 per 1000. This rate varies from *place to place at the same time* in the same state, in the same county, and in the same city; and it varies from *time to time in the same place*—state, county or city—not only from season to season but from year to year and from decade to decade. These variations give rise to two of the fundamental problems of juvenile delinquency description, namely, (1) Why these fluctuations in space and time? and (2) What do the statistics mean?

[3] Some authorities estimate that in each 500 persons of an average population there will be 1 insane, 1 feeble-minded, 1 epileptic, 1 neurotic, and 1 criminal or delinquent.

[4] For details see *Children in the Courts*, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau Publication No. 250, 1937, pp. 6-15. The proportions of boys and girls are based on the reports of 53 courts, 45,683 cases in all; boys, 38,985; girls, 6698.

WHY THE VARIATIONS IN SPACE?

Two facts stand out in the literature of juvenile delinquency everywhere in the United States. Juvenile delinquency appears in a pattern of scatter and concentration in space; and everywhere in the United States it appears in a pattern of ups and downs through time.

Concentration and scatter is characteristic of juvenile delin-

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY VARIATIONS WITHIN A STATE[5]

URBAN AND RURAL DELINQUENCY RATES COMPARED

AVERAGE YEARLY RATES PER 1,000 POPULATION AGED 10–16, INCLUSIVE

JULY, 1934, TO JUNE, 1937, INCLUSIVE

(Based on approximately 13,000 cases)

	Wayne County		16 Industrial Counties		26 Southern Agricultural Counties		40 Up-State Counties		State of Michigan	
	B		B		B		B		B	G
Court hearings....	19.3	1.9	16.4	·3.5	7.9	2.4	10.3	1.7	15.4	2.5
Placed on probation	9.86	1.01	8.43	1.45	4.27	.84	5.50	.84	7.95	1.12
First admissions to[a]										
BVS and GTS..	1.13	.30	1.41	.58	.80	.42	1.03	.55	1.16	.45
Probationers outstanding, end of										
month average..	12.41	1.82	7.56	1.61	5.26	.91	3.43	.50	8.40	1.43

[a] From reports made by the Boys' Vocational School and Girls' Training School. These figures include individuals initially placed on probation and subsequently discharged from unsuccessful probation by commitment to the Boys' Vocational School and Girls' Training School.

Source: Reports of County Agents and Juvenile Probation Officers.
        Boys' Vocational School, first admissions.
        Girls' Training School, first admissions.

The county groups are: Wayne; "Industrialized" Counties—Bay, Saginaw, Genesee, Oakland, Macomb, St. Clair, Monroe, Washtenaw, Jackson, Ingham, Calhoun, Kalamazoo, Berrien, Kent, Ottawa and Muskegon; Southern Agricultural—Lenawee, Hillsdale, Branch, St. Joseph, Cass, Van Buren, Allegan, Barry, Eaton, Livingston, Lapeer, Shiawassee, Clinton, Ionia, Montcalm, Gratiot, Sanilac, Tuscola, Huron, Midland, Isabella, Mecosta, Newaygo, Oceana, Gladwin, Arenac. Up-state Counties—all others—roughly, those north of the Oceana-Arenac line.

[5] From "Rural Cases Like Urban but Fewer," by Paul Wiers, *Monthly News Letter of the Michigan Child Guidance Institute,* August, 1940.

MICHIGAN

The City vs. the Farm in Child Adjustment

During twenty-eight months, July, 1934-October, 1936, in which over 13,000 alleged delinquent official cases were reported by Michigan juvenile courts to the State Welfare Department, the state averaged 8.4 alleged delinquents per 1000 boys and girls 10 to 16 inclusive. Wayne County (black) averaged 9.9 per 1000; sixteen other industrialized counties (cross-hatched) averaged 8.6; forty upstate timber and mining counties (slant-barred) averaged 6.0; and twenty-six agricultural counties (white) averaged 3.9 The period covered by these figures was at the end of a long "depression" decline in the volume of delinquency in Michigan. Rates rose sharply in 1937.

quency in whatever area it is studied from the urban slum to the confines of an entire state. Shaw, Sullenger, and others have found disproportionate numbers of delinquents concentrated in areas of deterioration and culture conflict in Chicago, Omaha, New York, Cleveland, Washington, Richmond, Detroit, and many other cities. As spot maps of rural areas become available,

FIGURE 2.—DELINQUENCY AND POOR HOUSING IN THE AUTOMOBILE CAPITAL
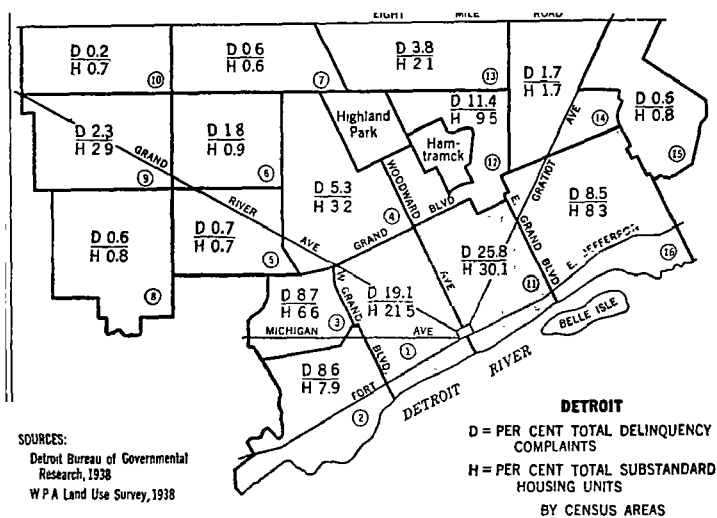
How Delinquency and Poor Housing Go Together

Delinquency complaints and percentage of substandard housing units correlate .95 in Detroit. The shaded areas within the Grand Boulevard which contained about 23 per cent of the city's 1,600,000 population, had 51.6 per cent of all its 73,688 substandard housing units and 44.9 per cent of its 1368 delinquency complaints in 1938.

apparently the same phenomena appear—disproportionate numbers in some townships and in certain villages and towns; comparatively few and scattered cases in other townships and villages even for periods up to ten years or longer. On the state level, counties with industrial communities and counties situated near industrial communities show higher incidence of delinquency than do less highly industrialized counties. Lowest of all are the purely agricultural counties. Thus, from the neighborhood to the

state there is a constantly repeated pattern of concentration and scatter, as shown in the accompanying table and in Figures 1-11.

FIGURE 3.—SCATTER AND CONCENTRATION FOLLOW PATTERNS OF LOCAL DISORGANIZATION

TOLEDO, OHIO
JUVENILE DELINQUENTS
1929 - 1931

Total average per 1000 = 7.4
(Children of school age)

School population delinquent per 1000 shown after name of district

DIST NO		DIST NO		DIST NO		DIST NO	
1 Arlington	2	12 Gunckel	25	23 Monroe	2	34 Segur	7
2 Auburndale	4	13 Hamilton	3	24 Nathan Hale	4	35 Sherman	12
3 Birmingham	19	14 Harvard	2	25 Navarre	5	36 South	2
4 Burroughs	0	15 Hathway	5	22 Newberry	3	37 Spring	10
5 Chase	12	16 Indiana	6	27 Newton	7	38 Stickney	8
6 Cherry	4	17 Irving	2	28 Oakdale	6	39 Walbridge	4
7 E.S.Central	5	18 Jefferson	27	29 Parkland	12	40 Warren	10
8 Franklin	5	19 La Grange	12	30 Pickett	8	41 Washington	11
9 Fulton	3	20 Lincoln	6	31 Raymer	6	42 Wayne	5
10 Garfield	7	21 Longfellow	2	32 Riverside	12	43 Webster	11
11 Glenwood	5	22 McKinley	3	33 Roosevelt	5	44 Whittier	2

Puzzle: Find Areas of Poor Housing, Culture Conflict

Delinquency in Toledo as in other cities tends to cluster in areas of substandard housing, clash of cultures, disorganization.

The sociological literature of delinquency causation deals almost exclusively with the phenomena of concentration. The psychological and psychiatric literature deals almost exclusively with the phenomena of scatter.[6]

[6] A notable exception is Dr. J. S. Plant's *Personality and the Cultural Pattern*, New York, 1937.

Scatter, the psychologists and psychiatrists imply, is due to the spotty distribution of personal and family maladjustments. Concentration, say the sociologists, is due to the concentration of ecological, economic, and social factors such as selection, inbreed-

FIGURE 4.—CONCENTRATION AND SCATTER MARK INDUSTRIAL CITY CASES

Ten highest delinquency areas   FLINT, MICH.
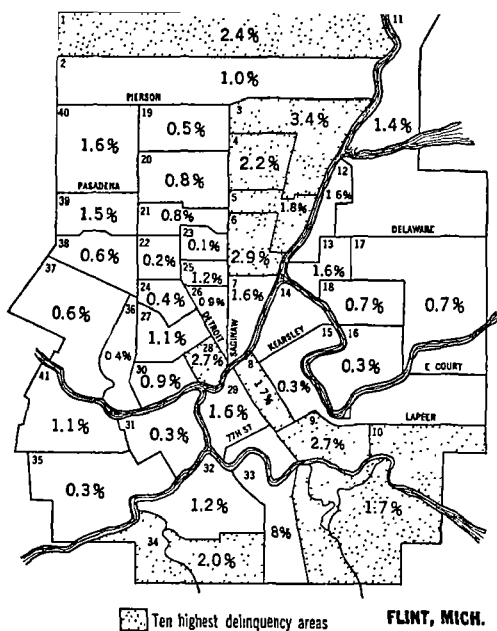
One-third of Children, 56 Per Cent of Delinquents

Percentages of boys and girls, 10-16 inclusive, taken to court as delinquents during 1933-1934 in Flint, Michigan, are shown above by housing survey districts. One-third of the city's children living in the ten shaded, high-risk areas supplied 280 of the 501 alleged delinquents in Flint during the two years.

ing, and personal, family and community disorganization. Why this concentration of causal factors occurs is a problem in human ecology that lies beyond the scope of this book. The point is that as a result of various processes of competition, segregation, succession of elements as some succeed and others fail, and be-

cause of the universal tendency for social advantages to follow the strong rather than the weak, there grow up in every city and in many rural and mining regions *areas of advantage* and *areas*

FIGURE 5.—CONCENTRATION AND SCATTER IN ANOTHER INDUSTRIAL CITY

PONTIAC, MICH.
DISTRIBUTION OF 538
BOY AND GIRL DELINQUENTS
SPOTTED BY POLICE
IN 1931

N
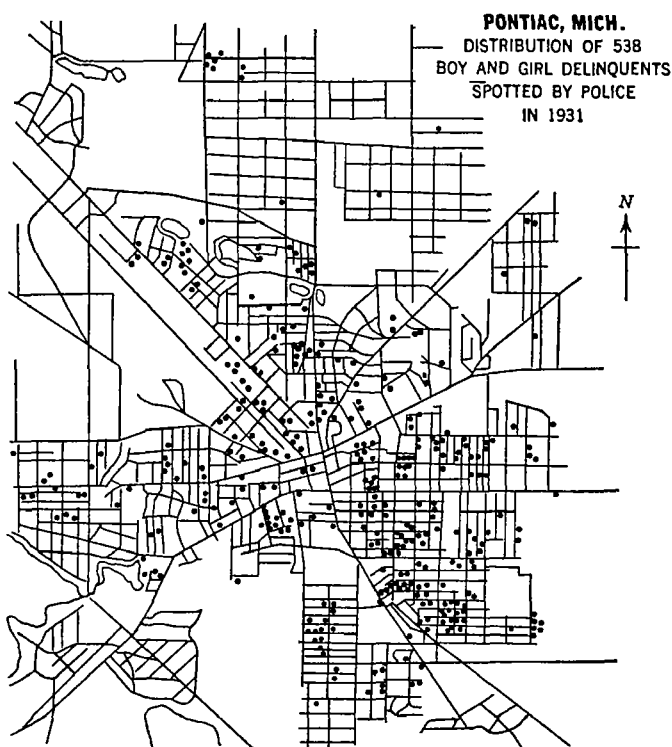
The Lower the Rents, the More Spots

A satellite industrial city of 65,000, Pontiac, Michigan, shows the same concentration of juvenile cases in poor housing areas as Detroit, Flint, Toledo, and others.

of disadvantage. The most prominent area of disadvantage which has been described by the Chicago sociologists is the so-called transitional zone, or deteriorated area, adjacent to the main business center of a growing city, and nascent at least around every subordinate center as that appears. Other disadvantaged areas

which have not yet been adequately described are (1) the unor-
ganized fringes of growing towns; (2) areas of poor land or reced-
ing natural resources such as the rural slums of the southern

FIGURE 6.—CONCENTRATION IN A POLISH AREA IN A CITY OF 50,000 PEOPLE

JACKSON, MICH.
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
1930
BY PROBATION OFFICER
102 CASES
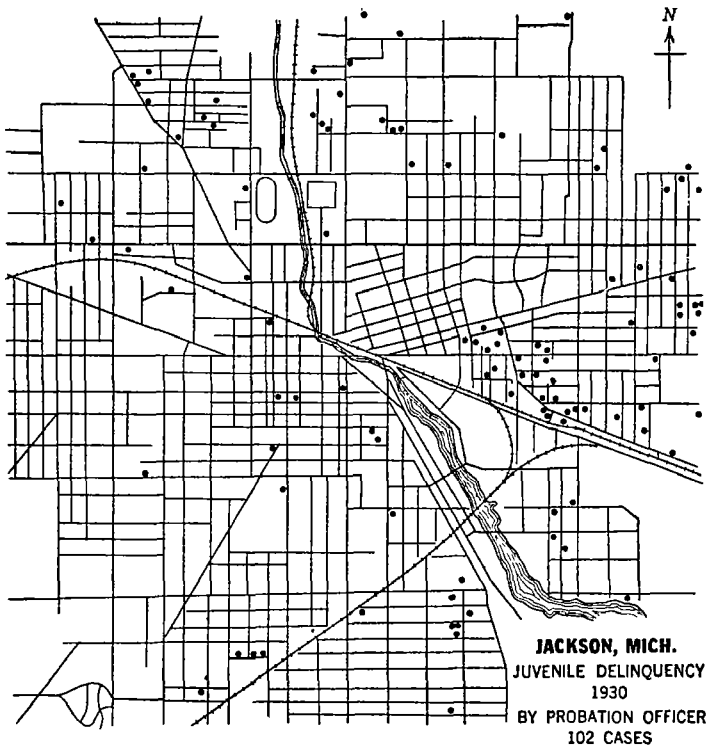
Evidence of Culture Conflict

Here in one ward between the angle of the railroad and a through high-
way, 44, or 8.5 per cent of the 515 boys of court age in this heavily Polish
district reached juvenile court in one year, 1930. The Jackson city rate among
boys that year was 4.0 per cent.

mountains and the cut-over lands of northern Michigan; (3) cer-
tain types of cheap resort or amusement communities near great
cities; and (4) many mining communities which must also be
classed as disadvantaged areas. In such areas, which function as
so many social catch-basins for the less successful, the unfortunate,

and the maladjusted, and which in turn breed and encourage their own varieties of maladjustment, concentration of delin-quents seems inevitable as long as the areas exist.

FLUCTUATIONS THROUGH TIME

Statisticians recognize four kinds of fluctuations through time: (1) the *long-time trend*, or direction, of a series of measures; (2)

FIGURE 7.—SCATTER AND CONCENTRATION IN CENTER OF MASS PRODUCTION, DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

DEARBORN, MICH.
DISTRIBUTION OF
246 DELINQUENTS
FORDSON SCHOOL DIST.
Jan. 1929 to Jan. 1935
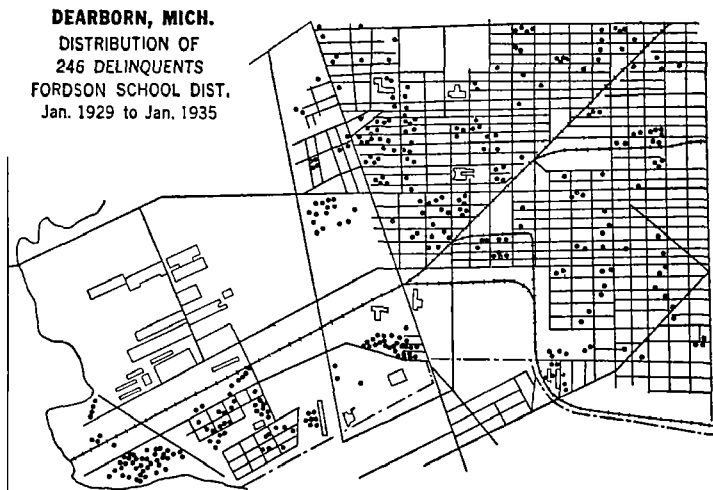
Spots Cluster Near Great Industry

Dearborn is the home of the giant Ford Motor Company. The coming of the Rouge Plant turned a rural village into a boom town. A hamlet of 911 people in 1910 and 2470 in 1920, by 1930 Dearborn had over 50,000. Some of the social effects are shown above.

cycles, or swings, covering a number of years, the most familiar example being the business cycle; (3) *seasonal variations* in meas-ures taken in days, weeks, or months; and (4) *residual fluctua-tions* due to accidental or non-foreseeable factors such as the impact of the influenza epidemic of 1918 on the pneumonia death rate.

Such fluctuations in biological, populational, economic, and other types of data have long been known, but popular discus-

sions of juvenile delinquency take little account of them. Even an administrative division of the United States government could wire for evidence of the "effect on juvenile delinquency" of a state W.P.A. recreational program less than a year after it had started and before all the preliminary research data had even been tabulated. Newspapers and magazines are constantly print-

FIGURE 8.—DELINQUENCY AND HIGHER EDUCATION LIVE TOGETHER IN THE SAME COMMUNITY

ANN ARBOR, MICH.
234 CASES OF
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
10-YEAR PERIOD 1924-1933
• Male white   ▲ Female white
○ Male black   △ Female black
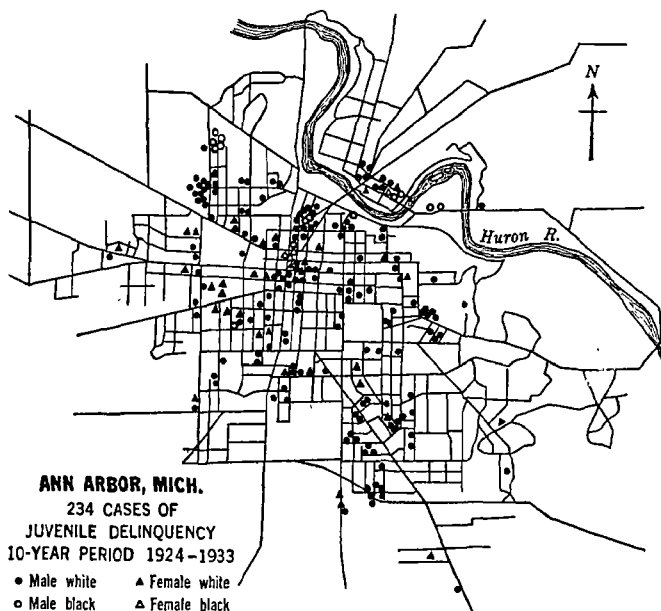
Delinquency Clusters in Low-rent Areas

Clustering of spots in the center of Ann Arbor in the northwestern part and north of the river marked lower-than-average rent areas. Ann Arbor is the seat of the University of Michigan.

ing stories to the effect that "one year (or it may be six months) after the Delightfully-Well-Intentioned Program for boys went into effect in this area juvenile delinquency decreased 65 per cent (or it may be 100 per cent)." When delinquency decreases, all sorts of agencies blushingly admit their part in the victory; when it increases, the increase is cited by the same agencies as additional evidence that their budgets are obviously too small.

MONROE, MICH.
LOCATION OF DELINQUENTS
1926 - 1938

Mixed Nationality District Shows Most Spots

Between 1926 and 1935 Monroe's steel and paper mills were growing—the depression almost passed it by. Hundreds of poor whites, Negroes, Hungarians and a score of other nationalities moved in. Most of them settled in "the East End" (the extreme southeastern portion of the map). An experimental project to raise the adjustment level of 1341 families in this area was under way in 1940. See Chapters XIII and XIX.

Whether any agency including the juvenile court actually makes **any noticeable** difference in the rate of deviant behavior—a dif-

FIGURE 10.—SEASONAL UPS AND DOWNS
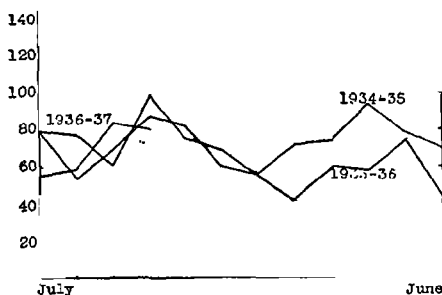
How Michigan Rates Vary

Delinquency cases per 100,000 child population 10-16 years old show definite peaks each spring and fall. Based on approximately 13,000 cases in entire state for 28 months.

ference that would not have occurred had the agency not existed —is a matter hardly to be settled by confident interviews with

FIGURE 11.—DETROIT VARIABILITY HIGH
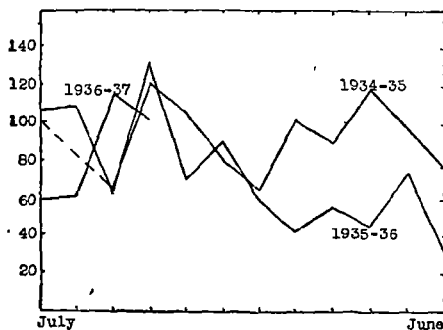
Wayne Sets Own Pattern

While still showing seasonal peaks in the spring and in the fall, Wayne County delinquency rates per 100,000 child population . 10-16 vary more annually than the rates in other parts of the state.

executive secretaries and by handfuls of handpicked statistics. Thrasher took four years to study the effect of a boys' club in

Brooklyn on juvenile delinquency and emerged with the com-
fortless conclusion that no clear-cut effect in its area could be

FIGURE 12.—CONSISTENT SEASONAL CHANGES
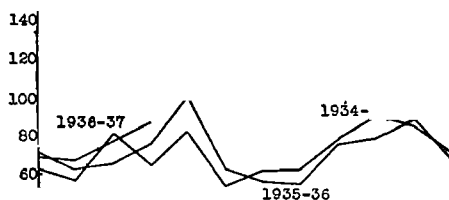
July   June
Up-state Cities Repeat Pattern

   As in Wayne County, delinquency in 16 smaller industrial counties in
Michigan showed a distinct seasonal pattern; but, unlike Wayne, these
counties showed no secular trend.

found. He admitted that if the club hadn't been there, delin-
quency might have been worse, but he could not prove that. A

FIGURE 13.—RURAL RATES SEASONAL
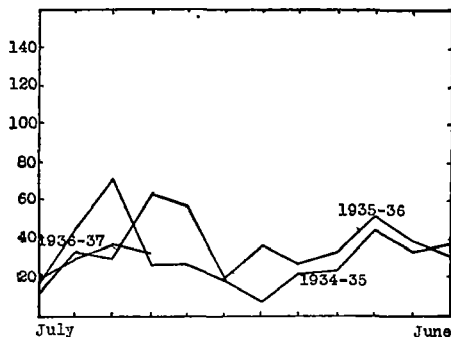
July   June
Delinquency in 26 Agricultural Counties

   Delinquency rates per 100,000 children 10-16 inclusive showed spring and
fall peaks in 26 Michigan agricultural counties in 28 months.

number of studies on the effects of various treatment programs
on the maladjustments of children agree in this: such programs

to show any effectiveness at all must reach the children early, they must be continued for years, statistically they can seldom claim even a 50 per cent effectiveness, and finally, per unit of result achieved that would not have been achieved without such programs, the whole thing is deucedly expensive.[7] In view of such evidence, optimistic announcements that such and such an agency has "decreased" delinquency by a sizable percentage in one year

FIGURE 14.—SEASONAL PEAKS UNEVEN
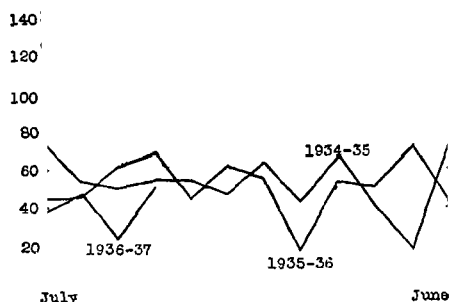
Timber and Mining County Rates

Delinquency rates north of the Muskegon-Bay City line in Michigan in sparsely settled timber and mining counties showed less seasonal consistency than in other areas.

or even in ten must be heavily discounted. It may be true; but it is much more probable that delinquency is falling because of the cumulative effect of many factors over many years; or that it has entered the downward phase of a cycle which will presently turn upward once more regardless of the agency; or that proper corrections for normal seasonal variations have not been made; or that some unexpected "residual" factor has entered the situation and will presently disappear. When all these possibilities have been eliminated the causal connection of the particular agency with the result may be examined on its merits.

The accompanying graphs (Figures 10-15) show the fluctuations of new court cases in Michigan (Figure 10) in a period of 28 months (July, 1934 to October, 1936, inclusive); in Wayne County

[7] See Carr, Valentine, and Levy, *Integrating the Camp, the Community and Social Work,* New York, 1939.

(Detroit) and three other areas in Michigan during the same 28 months; and in Flint (Genesee County), Jackson (Jackson County) and Pontiac (Oakland County), Michigan, over a period of sev-

FIGURE 15.—HOW ALLEGED DELINQUENCY CHANGES MONTH TO MONTH IN DIFFERENT AREAS

CITY OF FLINT

OAKLAND AND JACKSON COUNTIES

JACKSON COUNTY
——— Monthly average
—x—x— Yearly average

OAKLAND COUNTY
——— Monthly average
— — — Yearly average
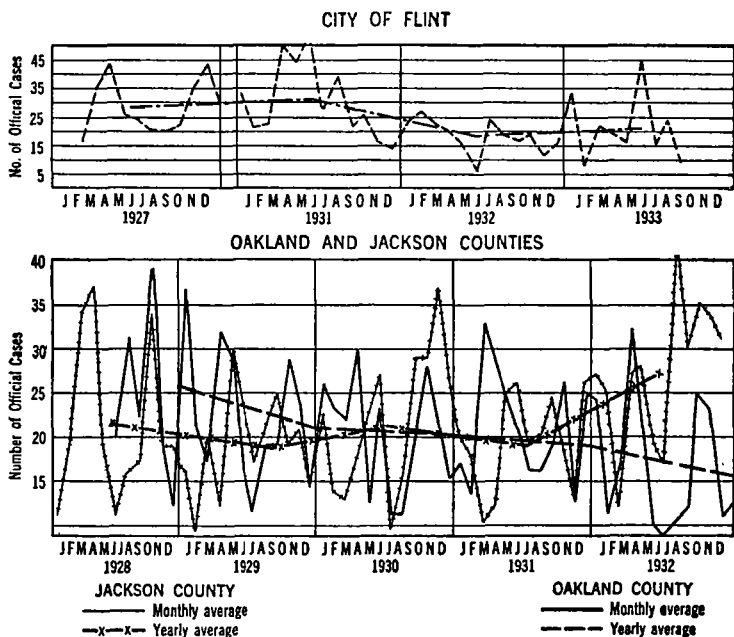
A Problem in Prediction

The differences are as striking in these curves as the similarities. On(
could not predict from one curve to another or from one season to anothei
on the same curve.

eral years. It is apparent that court cases do fluctuate in time and that no easy generalizations are possible about these fluctuations.

THE LOCAL PATTERN THROUGH TIME

Because of the doubtful character of most juvenile court delin-
quency statistics and the fact that only a few of the larger courts
have reliable records for more than a few years, the establishment
of trends and cycles in juvenile delinquency is extremely difficult.
Seasonal variations have long been familiar, although there has

been a tendency to treat such variations as uniformly regular from year to year and from community to community. Actually, while there is almost invariably one peak in the first half-year and one in the second half-year in most American communities, the peaks and valleys seldom fall on the same months in successive years, and in different communities they may fall on different months in the same year.

The chart for the eighty-three Michigan counties shows that in 1934-35 the first peak came in October, 1934, and the second in April, 1935, but the following year, although the first peak duplicated the preceding year and arrived in October, the second arrived not in April but in May, 1936. As for the valleys, or low points in the state figures, they never did coincide in either of the two years. In 1934-35, the first low point came in August, 1934, the second in January, 1935. The following year the low points lagged just one month behind those of 1934-35 and arrived in September and February, respectively.

The Flint, Jackson, and Oakland figures tell the same story for longer periods of time.

The point is, concentration and thinning-out of cases in monthly periods tend, on the whole, to follow a seasonal pattern, but *this pattern is different from year to year in the same community and different from community to community in the same year.*

Why the seasonal pattern? And why the variations from year to year and from community to community?

Like all explanations dealing with variations of juvenile delinquency through time, the answers here must be much more speculative and less factual than in the case of variations in space. Probably because all attempts at explanation of temporal phenomena must be *ex post facto* while spatial variations can be studied contemporaneously and at leisure, it will always be more difficult to account for temporal variations. In any event, it is supposed that the seasonal pattern is related to certain natural and cultural rhythms such as the coming of spring and autumn, the opening and closing of school, the varying types of stimulation presented to children at different seasons, etc. Why each city should have its own peculiar pattern and why this should vary slightly from year to year is more difficult to explain. It would

be easy enough to guess that the cultural rhythms run somewhat differently in different communities, but that is no explanation. What is needed is a series of researches in different communities over a period of years to determine specifically what causal conditions vary, when they vary, and how much. Until the results of such researches are available, it is useless to speculate further on this particular problem.

. DELINQUENCY FOLLOWS THE BUSINESS CYCLE

As for the matter of trends and cycles, despite the popular impression that crime is getting worse and criminals younger, there is no evidence that juvenile delinquency in the United States[8] is increasing. As a matter of fact such statistical evidence as is available seems to indicate that, if anything, fewer boys and girls are reaching our juvenile courts now than was true twenty or thirty years ago. Justice J. W. Hill of the New York Domestic Relations Court in his annual report for 1935 gives figures to show that juvenile delinquency in New York City declined 50 per cent in twenty years. In Detroit the number of alleged delinquents brought to court per 1000 children, ten to sixteen, inclusive, fell 33 per cent through three different juvenile court administrations from 1924 to 1934. Such figures do not of course *prove* a trend. They merely suggest that if there is a trend it does not seem to be upward. The statistics of the Federal Children's Bureau bear out this conclusion, showing a decrease from 36,902 to 31,038, or 15.9 per cent, in the number of cases handled by twenty-eight courts (serving 15 per cent of the total population of the United States) in 1929 and 1937, respectively.[9]

[8] Unlike the situation in England wheie the increasing use of probation has greatly decreased the prison population but where, because of changes in legislation and other factors, juvenile offenders have more than doubled in 20 years.

A 52-per-cent increase in the number of juvenile offenders per 100,000 of the population from 288 in 1911 to 439 in 1934 was reported by Professor Harold J. Laski of London in an analysis of the criminal statistics of England and Wales in the *Howard Journal*, No. 3, 1936.

[9] *Children in the Courts, op. cit.*, pp. 9-11. The federal figures, like those in Michigan, show an up-swing in 1937—corresponding to an up-swing in business. The low point of the nine-year period was 1936, when the 28 courts handled only 27,849 new delinquency cases, a decrease of 29.9 per cent from 1929.

FIGURE 16.—34,000 WAYNE CASES FOLLOW EMPLOYMENT CURVE

Child Population

Delinquency

Average of 1923-'24-'25

Delinquency Rate
per 10,000

Employment

Year
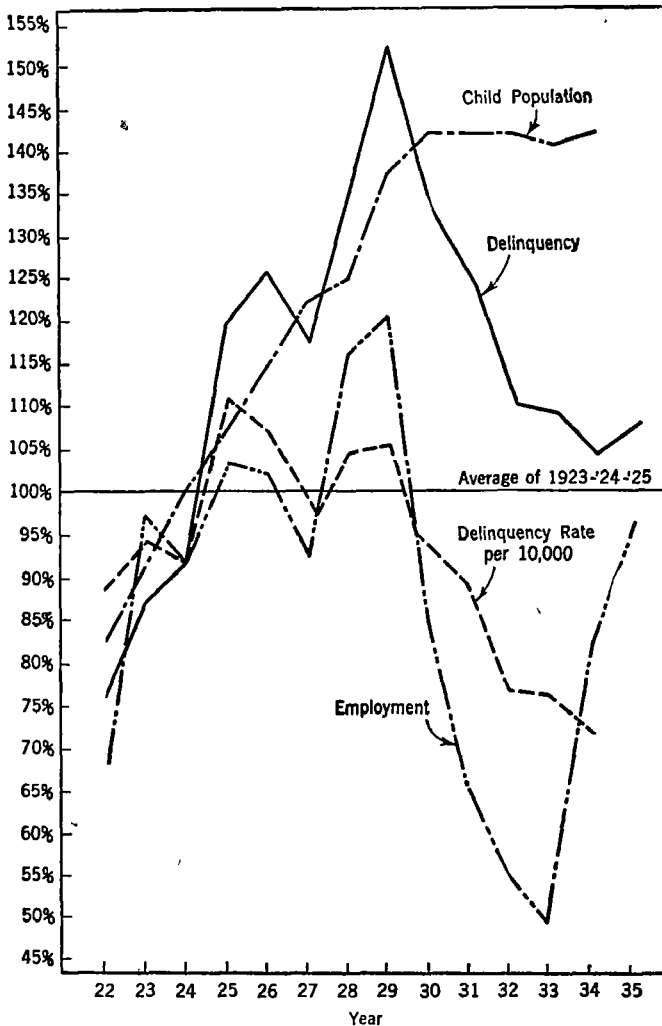
Court Cases Move with Industrial Activity

Statistics covering 34,821 alleged delinquents from 1922 to 1935 inclusive, show a definite tendency for the volume of court cases in Detroit to move up and down with the volume of employment in Detroit industries. Total number of cases brought to court ranged from 1645 in 1922 to 3318 in 1929, the highest number reached. Statistics and graph were prepared for Judge D. J. Healy, Jr., of the Wayne County Juvenile Court, by Mr. James E. Stermer, probation officer, later field sociologist for the Michigan Child Guidance Institute.

In Michigan, at least, there is evidence that juvenile delinquency may increase and decrease in cycles covering sixteen years or more. As shown in the table on page 56 the state as a whole apparently went through one such cycle from 1922 to 1936 during

FIGURE 17.—SEMI-RURAL DELINQUENCY FOLLOWS CURVE OF BUSINESS CYCLE
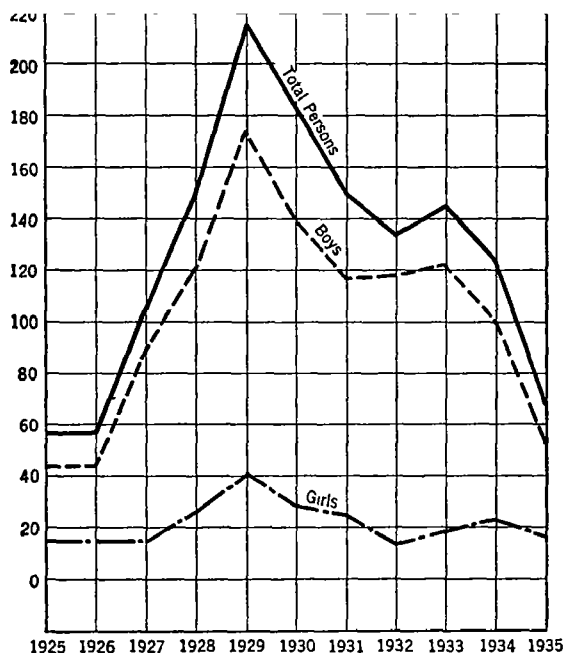
Actual number of alleged delinquency cases brought to court in St. Clair County, Michigan, 1925 to 1935 inclusive. Data supplied by the Honorable Clair Black, probate judge.

which the delinquency rate per 1000 population, 10 to 16, inclusive, rose from 8.0 in 1922 to 11.6 in 1927 and then receded to 8.0 again in 1936. There is some suggestion that industrial areas may show this cycle more markedly than rural areas. Wayne County and the sixteen other high-population-density counties showed marked variations while the southern non-industrialized counties, i.e., the rural areas of the lower peninsula, varied comparatively little.

Why this cycle should have occurred is probably to be ex-

MICHIGAN DELINQUENCY RATES[10]

(Per 1000 Population Aged 10–16)

Year[a]	Wayne County	Counties of High Pop. Density (Industrial)	Southern Non-industrial (Rural)	Up-state	All Rept's
1921	13.2	8.7	5 2	6.0	9.0
1922	12.7	7.4	3.8	4.7	8.0
1923	14.6	9.0	3.0	3.6	8.8
1924	13.2	10.0	3.7	4.8	9.2
1925	15.8	10.4	4.0	6.6	10.6
1926	16.6	10.8	4.1	6.7	11.1
1927	16.6	11.6	5.1	7.0	11.6
1928	15.1	11.9	4.0	6.0	10.9
1933[b]..........	11.6	9.6	3.5	4.1	8.8
1935[b]..........	10.8	8.5	5.0	6.2	8.5
1936[c]..........	8.8	8.5	4.3	6.1	8.0
Av.	13.5	9.7	4.2	5.6	9.5

[a] Years ending June.
[b] Data for intervening years not available.
[c] Information Service Data. All other figures are from reports of the State Welfare Department.

plained in terms of the business cycle, although that explanation does not take us far. As Figure 16 shows, 34,821 cases in Wayne County from 1922 to 1935, inclusive, tended to follow the curve of employment. This was true not only of the volume of cases but of the rate. The same facts have been brought out by Judge Clair Black, St. Clair County Juvenile Court, Port Huron, Michigan, in a study covering 1366 cases, 1925-35, inclusive;[11] and by Professor Walter A. Lunden, University of Pittsburgh, using the 20,916 cases handled by the Allegheny County Juvenile Court from 1919 to 1934, inclusive.[12] Yet a study of cases in New York City gives somewhat different results.[13] Perhaps Hewitt's analysis of the Detroit figures suggests the answer: some delinquency offenses such as auto thefts are more closely related to economic factors than are others like incorrigibility and sex offenses.[14] At

[10] Paul Wiers in *Delinquency News Letter*, February, 1937, p. 2. Based on county welfare agent reports, as tabulated by the State Welfare Department, covering over 50,000 cases, "Up-state" refers to the cut-over and mining counties, i.e., everything north of the Muskegon-Bay City Line.

[11] *Delinquency News Letter*, April, 1936. St. Clair County is semi-rural.

[12] *Delinquency News Letter*, December, 1937; *Federator*, January, 1938.

[13] The total number of alleged delinquents in New York City, 1930-34, increased about 6 per cent over the totals of the preceding five years. *Report of the Regents Inquiry*, 1939, p. 272.

[14] Lester Hewitt, unpublished Master's thesis, University of Michigan, 1939.

any rate it is clear that the juvenile delinquency rate is related to economic factors although in a complicated and obscure way; and this relationship is very different from the relationship of adult crime to economics.

WHY LESS COURT BUSINESS IN DEPRESSION?

Why total delinquents in Detroit, for example, declined during depression is probably to be explained in terms of changed attitudes, decreased deviation pressures, increased out-of-court facilities. Many factors worked together to produce the result. Undoubtedly one of the most important must be the effect of economic conditions on family discipline, family unity, family coherence.[15] One plausible explanation is that during a depression families have less money to spend on recreation, hence have to devise more of their own. Children have less spending money, hence cannot fly quite so far or quite so high. Parents are likely to spend more time in the home, hence there is more supervision of juvenile behavior. All in all, the depression tends to reintegrate many families, to throw family members more closely together, and to strengthen primary group controls. Possibly the fact that a child's companions are also less likely to have surplus cash, that economy becomes respectable, that dizzy parties are less frequent—all these lessened deviation pressures may contribute. Then there is the undoubted fact that many tradespeople and officials take a more lenient view of petty thieving by poor children during such times. For whatever reasons of this kind, the number of delinquents brought to court does follow the business cycle—at least in many places.

All of which brings us to a fundamental question: To what extent do these fluctuations in the number and distribution of juvenile delinquents measure fluctuations in the anti-social behavior of boys and girls?

WHAT DO THE STATISTICS MEAN?

Definitions.—Scientific usage requires that technical terms be used with uniqueness and consistency of reference. No mathematician would think of using the symbol 2 to refer to twice one

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[15] Suggested by Mr. Ross Tenny, superintendent, Oakland Juvenile Home, Pontiac, Michigan.

on one occasion and to 3×1 or 10×1 on another. No chemist would dream of using H_2O to refer to anything but one particular combination of hydrogen and oxygen vulgarly known as water. No geologist would express a moral judgment on the processes of nature in his technical use of the word "fault." In the natural sciences technical terms mean certain specific things and nothing else.

In the human sciences, on the other hand, uniqueness and consistencey of reference are frequently ignored. The worst offenders are probably sociologists. Consider the term "delinquent," for example: As used in the literature, does it designate one particular class of individuals, or does it refer *now to one class and now to another?* And is it always merely designative or does it sometimes express an evaluative judgment on the class designated? Morally it may mean one thing, legally something else, practically a third thing, and statistically still a fourth. It seems to be impossible to define the term once for all to satisfy all interests. The best that can be done is to define the reference that it shall carry within the framework of a given discussion. For our purposes, both the terms juvenile delinquent and juvenile delinquency by themselves are inadequate. The problem is illustrated in Figure 18. At any given moment in any state, community, or other area, from 2 to 20 per cent of the juvenile population in school can be spotted by their teachers as showing deviant behavior. The percentages vary with the amount of deviation present, the defensiveness of the teachers, the adequacy of the techniques used, and so forth. But on the average the percentage of behavior deviates probably approximates 2.5 to 5.0 per cent. In such a state as Michigan this would be between 25,000 and 50,000 children.

Not all of these deviates are anti-social. Many of them are neurotic or psychotic. Hence the number of children who commit acts prohibited by law (Circle 3) is always smaller than the total number of juvenile deviates (Circle 2). But the number who do break the law is much greater than the number whose violations are detected (Circle 4) and the number detected is always greater than the number called to the attention of agencies (Circle 5). As Mrs. Robison has shown, the number called to the attention of agencies is greater than the number taken to

court (Circle 6). And the number taken to court considerably
exceeds the number formally found to be delinquent (Circle 7).
To apply the term delinquent to any one of these groups of

FIGURE 18.—WHAT IS A DELINQUENT?

Term Applied in This Book   Reference of Each Term
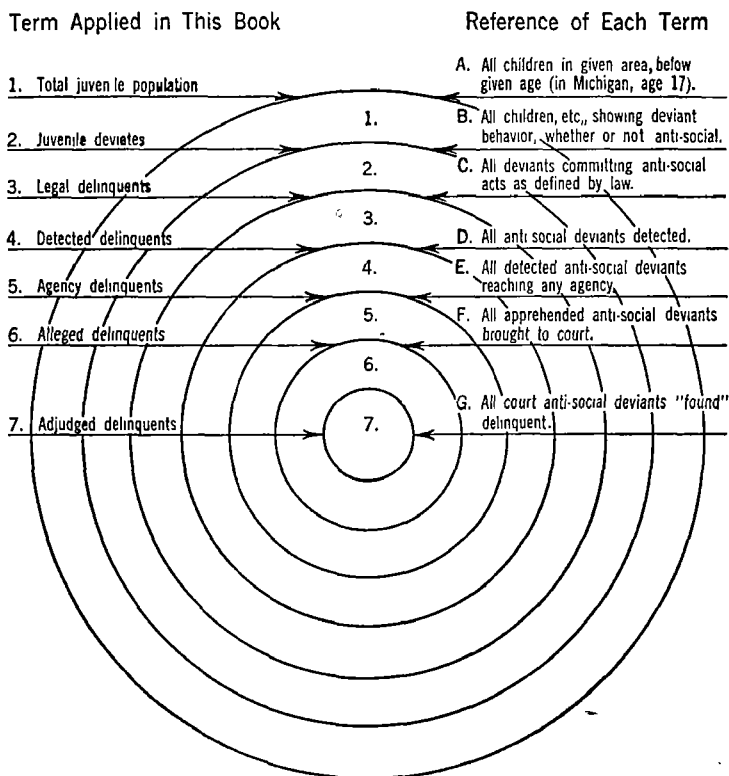
A Target for Consistent Reference

Six possible meanings of the term "juvenile delinquent" are diagrammed
in this figure. Consistency and singleness of reference require that each of
those six meanings be designated explicitly by a different term. Whether
the terms used are the best possible ones is a detail. There must be at least
six different terms.

youngsters to the exclusion of the rest is illogical and confusing.
Juvenile court laws usually define as delinquent any child who
violates any state law or village or city ordinance, or whose other
acts or surroundings have certain undesirable characteristics. The

Michigan law defines a delinquent as "any child under the age of 17 who violates any law of the state or any city or village ordinance, or is incorrigible, or knowingly associates with thieves, vicious or immoral persons," or displays any one or more of some sixteen other kinds of tabooed behavior. But the law nowhere says anything about the definition of delinquency depending on the *detection* of the offense or the *apprehension* of the offender. A delinquent under the Michigan law is any child who *does* any one of nineteen varieties of things, *whether or not the offense is ever detected.* This means that a boy under seventeen who shoots an air rifle all by himself in a vacant subdivision a mile from the nearest house in a city that prohibits such pastimes is as much a delinquent as a girl under seventeen who drives through a red light, even though neither is ever actually apprehended. In other words, probably half the 1,000,000 or more children under seventeen in such a state as Michigan are "delinquents" within the strict logical interpretation of such a law every year. Of course they are not delinquent in the sense of being anti-social by disposition or in the sense of ever being brought to the attention of any agency or public official. But the law says that any person under seventeen who *commits* any of these nineteen kinds of acts *is* delinquent—and that's that. If we are going to use words with just one specific reference and no more, there it is: anybody in that state under seventeen who *commits* any of these nineteen kinds of acts even if he is never detected! When he is detected, if we are to live up to our criteria of uniqueness and consistency, we must no longer call him a delinquent for that term includes violators who never do get detected. For clarity we must now call him a *detected delinquent.* And so on down the line. When the detected delinquents are brought to the attention of some agency, the police, the schools, or what not, they are no longer merely detected delinquents, but detected-delinquents-who-have-reached-the-attention-of-some-agency. Call them *agency delinquents.*

And when some of these agency delinquents are taken to court, they become court cases (official or unofficial), and as such, the subject of statistical enumeration. Call them *alleged delinquents.* Some of these alleged delinquents are eventually adjudged actu-

ally to be delinquent under the law. These are the *adjudged delinquents.* They constitute from 75 to 90 per cent of the alleged delinquents. And the alleged delinquents, as we have said before, constitute about 1 per cent of the child population, 10 to 16, inclusive.

CAN DELINQUENCY BE MEASURED?

Now we are ready for the question asked by Mrs. Robison, "Can delinquency be measured?" Asked in just those terms, the question has no meaning. What "delinquency" does it refer to? Delinquency as defined by law *whether or not detected;* detected delinquency *whether or not it has ever reached the attention of an agency;* delinquency acted upon by some agency *but not necessarily the juvenile court;* delinquency acted upon by the juvenile court *whether or not the child has actually been proved to be delinquent;* or *delinquency that has been formally established by judgment of a court?* Which of these kinds or degrees of "delinquency" are you trying to measure? Mrs. Robison found that of all the delinquents reaching certain agencies in New York City the juvenile court during a certain period handled about 60 per cent. In other words, what she established was not "Can delinquency be measured?" but the fact that in New York City alleged delinquents constituted about 60 per cent of all agency delinquents during a certain period of time. What percentage agency delinquents constituted of all detected delinquents and what percentage these in turn constituted of all legal delinquents, detected and undetected together, during the same time, Mrs. Robison did not determine. The fact that it is possible in the schools to obtain enumerations of juvenile deviates suggests that some measure of detected delinquents, at least, more sensitive than agency case acceptances may ultimately be devised.

In the meantime the question, "Can delinquency be measured?" must be redefined in order to be answered intelligently. In so far as enumeration is measurement, court statistics honestly reported do measure the number of boys and girls alleged to be delinquent who are actually brought to court. In other words, *they measure the volume of certain kinds of business transacted by the juvenile courts.* And that is all they do measure. To accept variations in the volume of business of the juvenile courts

not as measures but as indexes of variations in juvenile behavior is about like accepting the fluctuations of the stock exchange as indexes of business prosperity. It is purely a matter of convenience. As in the case of business forecasting, when more adequate indexes become available they will be used.

THROUGH A GLASS DARKLY

The inadequacy of court statistics to measure juvenile behavior must be apparent to anyone who considers the eight kinds of variables that intervene between the child's behavior and the court record. Between the act and the record stand eight refractors or statistical lenses. Each may magnify or belittle the act as the "image" passes along until in the end the record is either inescapable or quite invisible. These refractors are:

1. Discovery. The act must be found out.

2. Report. It must be called to the attention of an agency or an official.

3. Apprehension. Someone must become a case.

4. Group customs and facilities. How shall the case be handled? Shall the child be treated privately or taken to court?

5. Agency policy. Are all cases contacted taken to court or only some of them? Who decides?

6. Court policy. Shall the case be handled "off the record to save the child's name"? Thousands of cases are handled in this way.

7. Correctness and propriety of the petition. In most states the law requires an investigation to be made by some official to determine the facts before the case is heard by the judge. Only about four-fifths of the cases that reach the Wayne County Juvenile Court in Detroit, for example, are found to be delinquent. The other fifth are dismissed.

8. Pressure of influence, public opinion, etc., on the court. The scion of a prominent family can get away with murder as compared with some friendless youngster from the slums.

Discovery of the act, willingness to invoke aid, apprehension of the accused, group custom, agency policy, court policy, the correctness of the petition, and private and public pressures on the court—these are the main factors that vary from case to case,

from court to court, and from administration to administration in the same court.

Until all these factors can be measured, or at least estimated with some degree of accuracy, it is useless on the basis of court statistics to try to compare the behavior of children in one jurisdiction with the behavior of children in another, or the behavior of children at one period with the behavior of children at another period even in the same jurisdiction. *What we can compare is not the behavior of children but the recorded activities of courts dealing with children's cases.*

For practical purposes it is probably safe to assume that some relationship does exist between the court record and juvenile behavior. But that relationship is blurred and darkened by each of the eight variables mentioned above. Low delinquency figures may mean lax law enforcement or extra-judicial adjustment of difficulties by other agencies or "off the record"; or they may mean a population of relatively well-adjusted or well-controlled children. Until better methods of evaluating our juvenile court statistics have been devised, even the Children's Bureau reports have significance not as measures of child behavior but as *minimum indexes*. After all allowance has been made for officials who confuse dependent and neglected with delinquents, or shift the burden of supporting a neglected child from the county to the state by the simple expedient of sending some helpless youngster to a state reform school, it is probably still safe to assume that on the whole a county or a community has at least as much anti-social behavior among its children as it *reports*. The difficulty always is that nobody, as Mrs. Robison has indicated, can tell from present records how many legal delinquents there are who are not reported and not even apprehended.

The recorded delinquency cases, as we have said, are never more than an unknown fraction of the maladjustments and deviations that exist at any given time in a juvenile population. Thus it seems clear that underneath the surface outcropping of social deviation which the courts register as alleged delinquency there is a great mother lode of maladjustment whose contours can only be guessed at. Much of it never does come to the surface as delinquency or anti-social behavior of any kind. It comes out as neuroticism, vagrancy, failure, insanity, suicide. The

amount of individual suffering and social waste due to such conditions cannot be estimated, but it must be enormous.

THE COST OF NEGLECT AND FALSE ECONOMY

The costs of handling, treating, and disposing of the alleged delinquents can, however, be estimated somewhat more definitely. In Michigan to apprehend, dispose of, and treat approximately 5000 boys and girls brought to court in 1938 cost the taxpayers of the state a minimum of $1,100,000, or about $220 a case.[16]

Time and expenses of policemen and sheriff's deputies	$ 86,391	Institutional treatment, state institutions.	$	416,287
Detention before and after hearing	248,002	Cost conveying cases		8,494
Court costs..	150,120	Institutional treatment, Ford Republic, Starr Commonwealth,		
Probation and foster-home treatment	94,505	House of the Good Shepherd, and others (private institutions)....		150,000
Sub-total: amount expended in counties of origin	$580,018	Sub-total: institutional costs....		574,781
		Grand total..............	$1	,154,799

Since 1938 was a year of comparatively low delinquency, per capita costs were probably higher than in a year of high delinquency like 1937 when the state's 83 juvenile courts handled 5813 boys and girls on delinquency charges. Probably $200 a case would be a fairer estimate of the average per capita cost, year in and year out. If, in turn, this is discounted to make allowance for lower costs in other states, particularly in the South, perhaps the average annual cost for the country as a whole would run near to $100 or $150 per case. On this basis to handle the 200,000 alleged delinquents in the juvenile courts and correctional schools of the United States must cost from $20,000,000 to $30,000,000 each year.

These figures represent a minimum cost. They do not include the damage done by the legal delinquents before their apprehension or the costs of the criminal careers of the thousands of alleged delinquents who each year go on from the juvenile courts to the criminal courts and adult prisons. There is no way of estimating the damage done by juvenile offenders. As for the resulting criminal careers, nobody knows what percentage of our juvenile offenders become criminals. We know from various

[16] Based on local estimates of 49 probate judges, 22 sheriffs, and 19 chiefs of police, the budgets of the state's two correctional schools and estimates of the budgets of private correctional schools.

studies that from 59 to perhaps 85 per cent of adult criminals have been juvenile offenders. But the same percentages do not hold at all for the juvenile offenders themselves. Studies of the continued lawbreaking of reform school graduates and the more serious cases handled by juvenile courts do not answer the question. Probably the great majority of all the boys and girls taken to court make successful adjustments. How large the minority of failures may be remains to be determined.

But that each one of those who do fail goes on to cost the taxpayers a great deal of money is suggested by such estimates as Kenyon Scudder's tabulation of what it cost the state of California up to 1939 to put "Mike" in prison for his first term. This was itemized as follows:[17]

Los Angeles police and juvenile court......................	$ 500
Whittier Reform School, 24 months.......................	1800
Preston Reformatory, 18 months..........................	1170
Criminal court and San Quentin prison, three-year sentence...	1900
Total...	$5370

The normal free market value of Mike's services during his fifty-four months in Preston and San Quentin, meanwhile, could hardly have averaged less than $40 a month, or $2160. Of course that was lost. Then if we allow $500 for the actual damage done by Mike to his victims in his numerous escapades, the total cost of Mike's social education to the end of his first prison term amounts to $8030. Since with credit for good time he would be less than twenty-four at release, he would have many years of bigger and better crimes ahead of him—and bigger if not better crime bills for the state of California.[18]

The cost of failing to prevent such careers as Mike's looms large in any state budget and seems to be getting larger. Mental diseases alone cost the United States over $1,000,000,000 in 1937.[19]

[17] "What Delinquency Costs," *Delinquency News Letter*, December, 1938, p. 1.

[18] To conduct the social training of a criminal like Mike from the juvenile court through three years in prison apparently costs about the same as to educate a normal boy through high school and college.

[19] Economic loss in the United States due to mental disorders in 1931 estimated at $742,145,956. H. M. Pollack, "Economic Loss to N. Y. State and the U. S. on Account of Mental Illness Diseases," *Mental Hygiene*, April, 1932, p. 299. In 1939 writing on "Economic Loss Due to Mental Disease in

Over a period of years the cost of caring for juvenile delinquents, criminals, insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, and child wards in a fairly typical northern state swallowed up nearly 9 per cent of the total state disbursements, and increased more than three times as fast as the state population.[20] From 1923 to 1937, inclusive, the state of Michigan spent more than $160,000,000 for these purposes, the annual total rising from $7,254,000 in 1923 to $14,000,000 in 1937. Had a proportionate share of this increase gone into child care and correction, the change would have been more hopeful, for money spent on prevention might have meant lower costs later. But the great bulk of the increase actually came mainly in care of the mental defectives and criminals. These items increased respectively 62.3 and 39.7 per cent! Care of the insane increased 29.4 per cent. *Child-care and correction costs increased only 2.0 per cent!*

These figures represent merely the most visible part of the human costs of maladjustments, neglected or ignored years before. What the economic value of the services of these state wards (in 1937 totaling about 30,000) would have been during those fifteen years can only be guessed at. The significant thing in that particular state was that instead of increasing expenditures on children and thus doing fundamental preventive work, the state "economized" on children and poured additional good millions after bad into prisons and mental hospitals.

Here we have a picture of the enormous cost of juvenile maladjustment projecting itself through the years—a picture of social waste running on and on, and a state government penny wise and pound foolish. If ever there was a problem calling for the application of the scientific technology this would seem to be the one.

New York State and the United States, 1937," the same author set the total loss due to hospitalized cases of mental disease at $783,586,026. He estimated non-hospitalized males mentally ill at 2.75 per 1000, totaling 133,278, non-hospitalized female cases at 131,674, and total mental disease losses due to these non-hospitalized cases at $331,591,000. Losses due to hospitalized and non-hospitalized mental cases were thus estimated for 1937 at $1,115,177,026. See Walter L. Treadway and others, *Mental Health,* Lancaster, Pa., 1939, pp. 156-164.

[20] Gilbert R. Haigh and Paul Wiers, "State Wards, Get 8% of Michigan Expenditures," *Delinquency News Letter,* February, 1938, p. 1.

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STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What are the outstanding facts about the volume of crime in the United States?
2. Compare the estimated costs of crime with the cost of the public school system in the United States.
3. Compare the "lethal efficiency" of American criminals with that of the German Army in the field in 1918. With that of the automobile.
4. How does the cumulative murder total in the United States over a period of years compare with the loss of life on the battle fields of the Civil War? On those of World War I?
5. How may the underworld become a factor in political changes in the United States?
6. What is the relationship of juvenile delinquency to crime?
7. How much juvenile delinquency is there?
8. What two problems are presented by the statistics on juvenile delinquency?
9. Describe the distribution of juvenile delinquents in cities. In Michigan.
10. Compare the distribution of juvenile delinquents in Flint and in Toledo.
11. What are *areas of advantage* and *areas of disadvantage?* Give examples.
12. Describe the seasonal variations in juvenile delinquency. What inferences do you draw from the graphs showing seasonal variations in different sections of the state?
13. What can you say of long-time trends in juvenile delinquency?
14. What problems do you see in the local pattern of delinquency through time?
15. What relationship is there between economic prosperity and juvenile delinquency? What bearing does this have on programs for controlling delinquency?
16. How does Hewitt explain the Detroit figures?
17. What other explanations have been offered?
18. What is meant by uniqueness and consistency of reference in a scientific term?
19. How does this apply to the problem of juvenile delinquency?
20. How would you answer the question, "Can delinquency be measured?"
21. What are the variables between a child's behavior and the statistical record?
22. What is the volume of juvenile maladjustment?

23. What does it cost on the average lor police, courts, and correctional institutions to handle a juvenile delinquent? What do such figures not include?

24. What was the estimated "book cost" of putting "Mike" through his preliminary training and "freshman criminal course" in California?

25. What percentage of the Michigan state budget went for the care and treatment of behavior deviants from 1923 to 1937, inclusive?

26. How did the increase in the money spent in Michigan on child care and correction compare with the increase in the amount spent for the care of criminals? For the care of the insane?

27. Do these facts agree with your conception of true economy in government?

Why Maladjustment and Delinquency?

THE INDIVIDUAL, THE COMMUNITY, AND CULTURE

Broadly speaking, individuals become maladjusted for two kinds of reasons: (1) Because of some inadequacy in themselves or in their relation to their environment they become frustrated, thwarted, emotionally disturbed, and *fall into deviant behavior as a way out.* And/or (2) because *the immediate environment presents predominantly deviant behavior patterns,* as in a slum or an area of delinquency traditions, they adopt such patterns and become social misfits outside of their own circle.

In this chapter we shall examine the occasions and mechanisms that produce maladjustment in individuals. In later chapters we shall consider some of the obvious deviation pressures that exist in many communities—and then some of the inconsistencies and conflict-producing elements in American culture generally.

CHILDREN IN AN ADULT WORLD

Let us begin with some obvious facts.

It is obvious, as Sullenger contends, that *an infant is dependent on the adults about it.* Gradually decreasing, this dependency normally continues in our culture for from sixteen to twenty-five years. This means that for providing the physical necessities, the emotional and adjustment satisfactions, and the social orientations needed to transform the helpless infant into the self-supporting, socially-minded adult the primary responsibility always rests on adults. It is parents, teachers, neighbors, city officials, employers, and other *grown-ups* who set the master pattern for the child-world, and it is grown-ups again who decide when and where some youngster has failed to conform to that pattern. That is so obvious that it needs merely to be mentioned.

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No Child Is Born Delinquent

[A second obvious fact is that *no child is born delinquent*. He may be born defective or abnormal, but he is not delinquent. He may be born without brains enough to ˙learn how to feed himself, but he is still not delinquent. He may be born with a glandular imbalance that makes behavior disturbances inevitable, but still he is not delinquent. The delinquency comes later when grown-ups—you and I and our neighbors—let these handicapped children get into situations that frustrate and defeat them. We are so "delinquent" in meeting our own adult responsibilities here that we have not even bothered to count our handicapped children! A nation that periodically enumerates its pigs and chickens is still so uninterested in its children that it has no census of its handicapped!

Yet even normal children will answer back to intolerable situations with abnormal conduct. Recall again the attempt of Punch, the little hero of Kipling's *Baa Baa Black Sheep*, to exterminate his pious cousin? The cousin had made a practice of sicking other boys at school on to fight Punch and then when Punch defended himself the cousin dutifully reported at home that "Punch has been fighting again." For that Punch's terrible aunt would deprive him of his beloved books, or whip him, or otherwise humiliate him. Waking Punch up at night to ask him confusing questions and then make him "ask God to forgive him for being such a liar" was another of that delightful cousin's favorite pastimes. When Punch attempted to escape from this persecution for a little while by losing himself in story books, he was accused of "showing off," and whenever he tried to find out more about a very puzzling world by asking questions, that too was "showing off." After you have watched those two pious hypocrites turn the little boy's own sister away from him, deprive him of his books, make him wear the word "Liar" in big letters on his back in the street, neglect his failing eyesight yet punish him for not mastering his lessons—after you have watched that slow torment drag along for five years and turn a happy, trusting little boy into a miserable young scamp eager to do murder, your chief regret is that the murder didn't come off! And yet if

it had, the world would have been the poorer, for Punch was Rudyard Kipling himself![1]

WHO IS "DELINQUENT"?

Well, who was "delinquent" in that home? Punch or his aunt, or the stupid parents who left him there? Who is delinquent in most homes that produce "delinquents"? Who is delinquent when decent parents are thrown into poverty and compelled to rear their children in a slum? Who is delinquent when so-called intelligent people permit slums to exist? Who was delinquent when in 1934 only one in five of the 15,000,000 physically or mentally handicapped children in the United States was receiving adequate care? Who was delinquent when at least 7,500,000 other children were suffering from "insecurity, lack of medical care, curtailment of educational facilities, inadequate treatment of behavior problems, and all along the line a marked decrease in funds for the promotion of child welfare"? Who is delinquent when over 19,000,000 out of our 45,000,000 children are inadequately provided for today? Who is delinquent when one 333-acre slum in Cleveland, for example, with only 2.5 per cent of the city's population, produces 6.8 per cent of the delinquency, 21 per cent of the murders, 26 per cent of the houses of prostitution, and costs the people of that community in actual dollars and cents for fire, police, educational, recreational, welfare, and other services $1,750,000 *more* than the city receives in real estate taxes from that area?[2] Who is delinquent in Cleveland? Who is delinquent in New York, Detroit, Washington, and other cities where similar conditions exist?

The Handicapped Boy.—Who is delinquent in cases like the following, which can be duplicated by the thousand from the court records of the United States? Stanley, the slow-witted son of an impoverished immigrant farmer in northern Michigan, is given a pony by his father. It is almost the boy's only possession, the only thing he can call his own. Presently, as the result of a series of family quarrels, the father tries to kill the mother, then

[1] See his *Autobiography.*

[2] *An Analysis of a Slum Area in Cleveland,* Rev. R. B. Navin, Wm. D. Peattie, F. R. Stewart, and staff for the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority, 1934. Note that throughout this section we are using the term "delinquent" *with its moral rather than its legal reference.*

slashes his own throat and hangs himself. The mother, Stanley, and an elder brother of normal intelligence but slighter physique are left alone in a ramshackle home on a few acres of cut-over land. The depression comes. Because he is "smart" and can "manage things," the older brother is the one to whom the mother turns. The younger brother gets up in the middle of the night and confides his disappointments to his pony in the lean-to stable. Then one day the boy comes home from school to find his pony gone—the brother has sold it to make ends meet. Sold it without a word, like that! The only thing the boy ever loved! There is a tense moment with the elder brother pinned against the barn and the bigger youth aching to smash him. But after all "he is my brother." The clenched fist falls and he takes that disappointment with the rest. But he is in the way in that poverty-stricken house now. He brings nothing in. And he is slow-witted and cannot defend himself in words. There comes a morning at the meager breakfast table when Stanley is the one who is pinned down—pinned down verbally and made to look like a fool. The slow wits can find no answer, yet he feels he is right; feels his brother is running over him again; feels a hot surge of resentment against this insolent weakling whom he could flatten with his fist. "By God! . . ." The fork does not go very deep in brother's ribs, but it is sharp and the results are gratifying. After that the mother and the brother are afraid of Stanley and determined to get rid of him. When some of the neighbors complain that the boy flies into tantrums and threatens to kill people, the mother and elder brother join in asking the probate court to commit him as insane. Two doctors find he is feeble-minded, but not insane. But the state institution for the feeble-minded is so over-crowded that it will be three years at least before he can be sent there. Meanwhile if he stays at home everyone feels that he may do murder. And nobody wants him—slow-witted, "dangerous," a boy nobody will ever be proud of. Well, *who is delinquent here?*

The Over-restricted Girl.—Then there is Edith who is just finishing a term at a state correctional school. Edith is the daughter of devout parents in a little town near a big mid-western city. Suffering apparently from serious repressions of their own, these parents early forbade Edith to associate with boys, and never

allowed her to attend children's parties. Even in her junior year in high school she was still forbidden to go to the skating rink because of the risk of meeting boys.

Now of course as a perfectly normal girl Edith could see that her friends were not so narrowly restricted and seemed to be having a much better time than she was. So she began to do what any but very stupid parents would expect, namely, adopt subterfuges to gain the same liberties as her friends.

One night when supposed to be studying at a friend's house she stayed too late at the skating rink and then was afraid to go home. She and her chum prevailed on a young taxi driver to drive them to Detroit. They registered at a cheap hotel at two in the morning. A few minutes later two drunks picked the lock of their room and tried to climb into bed with them. The girls' screams frightened the men away, and in the morning Edith cut off her braids and her chum sold them at a hair shop to pay for the room. Before the girls reached a relative's home in the city that day a policewoman picked them up and sent them home.

Edith's parents were horrified. As a "fallen woman" she was taken before the juvenile court which placed her on probation—to the parents themselves! The parents now regarded the girl as a kind of moral leper and determined more firmly than ever to keep her from further contamination. Within four months, however, she ran away, and for three weeks nobody knew where she was. Then she turned up as a domestic 300 miles away in Pennsylvania whither she had hitch-hiked alone. In a moment of overconfidence she had told her story to the woman for whom she worked; and back she came to face a judge who understood only that the authority of his court had been flouted. So he committed her to the state reformatory for women till she should reach the age of 21.

Who was delinquent in this case?

The Child of a Deviant Home.—Or take the case of Tony. Tony was the son of Italian parents who moved to a small town in Michigan several years before Tony was born, the youngest of six children. The father worked intermittently as a machinist. During prohibition days he supplemented his wages with a little judicious bootlegging until he was arrested and sent to jail for a year. Of course nobody molested his customers. The mother

meanwhile took in washing, one daughter clerked in a Five-and-
Ten, the eldest son drove a delivery wagon, and the younger
children picked up American ways by selling newspapers. As
"wops" and outsiders in a patriotic community, the mother and
children clung together loyally and worked tooth and nail to
finish paying for the little home they were buying on contract.
The father after his release took life more casually. Becoming
involved in a love affair with the wife of an Italian neighbor, he
was the storm center of a number of exciting scenes at home.

As for Tony, his difficulties began early. He was not too bright
—I.Q. 78, or dull normal. In the third grade he was caught
stealing colored crayons. The next year he carried home a purse
that he had found in the school yard. When a school officer even-
tually retrieved the purse—hidden under the maternal mattress
—Tony's mother told the boy forcefully in front of the visitor,
"Next time you find something, you no yell 'I got! I got!' You
hide it good." Presently the boy was accusing a physician of a
sex perversion attack, a charge which the doctor insisted had
been invented by the mother to extort money from him on the
strength of the fact that the boy as a charity patient had been
stripped in the doctor's office to undergo a free violet-ray treat-
ment for a skin disease. The case was dropped. Later Tony was
found to have taken $49 from the till of a creamery at which he
worked. He was placed on probation by the juvenile court. A
few months later he broke into the school building and stole
two cans of tomatoes from the lunchroom kitchen. Before the
school authorities could intervene over the week end, he was
whisked away to the state correctional school. His principal, still
convinced something could be made out of Tony, obtained his
release on parole a month later.

Then the boy bought a cheap car from a secondhand dealer
and used it to visit a near-by city where he became infected with
a venereal disease. To keep the car running, he promptly stole
a battery from a junk dealer and, by way of shattering his parole
completely, went on a visit outside the state without permission.

Should he have been returned to the reform school at that
point? Against the advice of a trained social worker, an amateur
adjustment committee persuaded the county welfare agent to
overlook these peccadillos in the belief that if a job could be

found for Tony in a garage where he could tinker with other people's automobiles he might yet make a satisfactory adjustment. Unfortunately, however, before the plan could be put into effect, Tony, now sixteen, was drawn into a game of strip poker with an older man, a neighbor youth of eighteen, and a girl of thirteen. Out of this came charges of statutory rape, and Tony was arrested. By turning state's evidence he won the favor of the prosecutor, who had him given a suspended sentence and placed in a succession of boarding homes, in all of which he failed dismally. Eventually even the prosecutor's patience wore out, and Tony had to be sent to prison.

Who was delinquent in Tony's case?

The Victim of Sibling Rivalry.—Then we have Gerald, the son of a well-to-do merchant in a small city. Apparently Gerald was a quiet, normal boy, inclined to be a bit surly, perhaps, but well mannered, with no bad habits and not at all wild; no undesirable companions, and all that. He had the usual allowance for a boy of his class. Nobody saw any connection between his moodiness and the fact that most of the family's attention was gradually becoming centered on two older sisters, one of whom was in college. It was something of a shock to Gerald's parents, therefore, when he was arrested one day charged with having stuck up a restaurant the night before.

Identified by the restaurant owner at the jail, Gerald retorted coolly: "I almost had to shoot you last night. You didn't get your hands up very fast."

Family influence, a good lawyer, and Gerald's own previous good behavior put him on probation and kept him out of the penitentiary.

Who was delinquent in Gerald's case?

The Young Gangsters.—Or take the Lefty gang. The Lefty gang is composed of fifteen boys from 13 to 16 who live in a congested, near-slum area on the west side of Detroit. Within a half-mile radius of the unpainted two-story frame house in which Spit, their leader, lives with his mother, father, one sister, and two other families—14 persons in all—there are 36 beer joints, 3 cabarets, 6 poolrooms, 4 alley shacks occupied by dopers, and at least a dozen other places of doubtful social value. It is over a mile to a playground and there is one church in the area, open

part-time. The gang meets in an alley hang-out and they call themselves the Lefties, because Lefty is the big shot of the city's underworld. They all want to emulate him when they grow up. Sent to a fresh-air camp one summer, the gang put up with it for two days to get their fill of swimming, then openly expressing their contempt for such "sissy" activities as woodcraft and base-ball they ran away and hitch-hiked back to the city. All of them have been in the juvenile court and four have acquired great prestige by having been in the state reform school. They are looking hopefully forward to the time when they will be able to graduate from petty thieving and car-stealing to "something big." One of their most successful exploits was to organize a racket by which all the kids in the neighborhood had to pay a nickel for a safe conduct to and from the movies.

Who is delinquent here—and in thousands of other gang sit-uations throughout the country?

Technically and legally, of course, the child is always delin-quent, but *morally, socially, and causally it is the adult who has failed.* Nor does it mitigate your offense and mine to plead that many of these children like Stanley and Tony and millions of others are feeble-minded or victims of endocrine imbalance, or otherwise defective. *The greater the child's native handicap, the greater obviously the responsibility of parents, school, and com-munity. We adults control the child's world!*

Whether the handicap is usual like the helplessness of new-born infants or unusual like feeble-mindedness in the general child population, the responsibility of the adult remains inescapa-ble. No one, when an infant in his charge falls out of a window or sets fire to the house, can excuse himself by the plea, "It wasn't my fault—a baby did it!" How then plead "It's not our responsibility—so many delinquents are feeble-minded!"

What Can the Adult Do?

What does this principle of adult responsibility entail? (1) Un-derstanding of the *causes* of deviant juvenile behavior and (2) *intelligent action* on the basis of that understanding.

Causes we shall consider in the remainder of this chapter. Intelligent action forms the theme of this whole book.

Hundreds of "causes" of juvenile delinquency have been enu-
merated by psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, social workers.
It is easy enough to classify them as physical, mental, emotional,
and social, or to summarize them still further by saying that
children become delinquent because of some imperfection or
imbalance between the personality and its environment. The
real problem is threefold:

1. What are the broad outlines of behavior causation in gen-
eral—the factors of difficulty *anywhere?*

2. What are the factors of difficulty in a particular *community?*
Here and now?

3. What are the factors of difficulty in a particular *case?*

Generalities must be brought down with increasing specificity
to the community, then to the individual child.

How Behavior Develops

But we must begin with the generalities. Why do children
commit anti-social acts? Why do they commit any acts of any
kind? Any child can be viewed as a developing system of im-
pulses, urges, drives. Children are moved to action by inborn
drives, or tissue needs. These ultimately become organized
through a complicated process of growth and learning into mo-
tives, wishes, sentiments, and attitudes. An infant's restlessness
and crying disappear when he is fed. From that we infer that the
contractions of the muscles of his empty stomach constitute a
stimulus or drive for his restlessness and crying. We call that
particular drive "hunger." Thirst, air-hunger, excretory drives,
and others, will readily occur to the reader. The point is that
merely as drives these are largely *inefficient.* The infant, for
example, is wholly incapable of feeding himself. His hunger
drive can cause him to kick and bawl but it cannot of itself
produce the definite, specific, *coordinated* movements of eyes,
arms, hands, fingers, lips, tongue, throat, necessary to transfer
the contents of a milk bottle from the bottle to his stomach. In
order to feed himself, therefore, to quiet his hunger drive, he
must *learn,* he must acquire certain specific habits or skills. He
must learn to do certain specific things in a certain specific time
order with a certain degree of precision or nicety of spatial ad-
justment. Ultimately, after a long course of growing up and

learning, he develops the skills necessary to obtain food, not directly by reaching out his hand, but by cooperating with other people in a roundabout process of give-and-take called "earning a living."

One of the early steps in that process of growing up and learning is learning to adjust to distant things by means of present stimuli—in other words, to get control of *symbols*. The child learns to interpret (give the appropriate reactions to) the sounds and gestures of other people and to control others by making symbol-noises and symbol-signs himself. His skills gradually increase. His hunger is no longer blind. He can *think* of cookies, candy, how to get into the pantry. His drives have gradually been implemented with *skills* and are now guided by *ideas* and controlled by *expectations* and *attitudes*. In other words, they are no longer raw drives but have become *humanized motives*. Certain very broad and powerful motives having to do with the satisfactions to be gained from other people we refer to as *wishes*. Wishes, or as they are sometimes called in their more organized form, *sentiments,* are the motive power of social action.

THE SOURCES OF DIRECTION

But motive power, as we saw in the case of the hunger drive, is ineffective without direction. Hence, in addition to the wish motives that set the child in action we must have behavior patterns to guide him on his way. By and large, the fundamental behavior patterns which an individual follows are imposed upon him by his culture. Individual intelligence is not independent. The relation between intellect and morality is low—the correlation is below .70.[3] It is obvious that group living and group culture preexist the individual. The child is born into a world already patterned and organized. Only by interaction with the forces of the environment—light, heat, gravitation, other personalities, etc.—only through this interplay do the hereditary capacities of the individual attain full development. Actually,

[3] Clara Frances Chassell, *The Relation Between Morality and Intellect,* New York, 1935, p. 470. .70 is a low correlation because when it is used as a basis of prediction the factors whose relationship it does *not* measure have about the same numerical value. The coefficient of alienation, i.e., the relationship of factors other than those measured by the correlation coefficient, may be expressed by $k = \sqrt{1 - r^2}$, which in this case is .707.

our cultural limitations due to poverty, infectious disease, defective education, war, and other factors being what they are, hereditary capacities seldom do reach full development. This is a serious matter, but for our immediate purpose it is perhaps more pertinent to point out that culture presents anti-social behavior patterns as well as so-called normal behavior patterns. The question always is, "What are these anti-social patterns, how numerous are they, and how powerfully does the environment press them on the individual?"

Variations in Anti-social Patterns

Studies by Shaw, Thrasher, Sullenger, and others have made it clear that there are areas in our great cities where such patterns are omnipresent, where they affect all areas of life, and where the pressure for conformity to them is very powerful. When Shaw tells us that in certain areas of Chicago delinquency has become a tradition, this is essentially what he means. He means that when a boy wakes up in the morning in his overcrowded tenement home, the stimuli to anti-social behavior begin to play upon him, and they follow him all day—follow him into the street, into the sex-drenched movie, into the tough poolroom, into the gang hang-out, into the crime news of the newspaper, into the cheap dance hall, into his own home again at night. The anti-social pressures in such areas are *numerous, varied, powerful,* and *continuous.* In contrast, the anti-social pressures in a residential district are *few, simple, weak* and *intermittent.* Different parts of the same city differ in the number, complexity, power, and continuity of the anti-social pressures that are present. Different cities differ, and there are differences again between the big city, the medium-sized city, the small city, the village, and the open country. Nobody has yet analyzed these anti-social pressures. The problem is enormously complex and will have to be attacked along many lines. At the least it will be necessary to measure the number, complexity, power, and continuity of anti-social stimuli in the economic, attitudinal, and moral fields. It is these stimuli that we have called deviation pressures.

The point is, for convenience it seems desirable to think of gradients of anti-social, or deviation, pressures, ranging from the open country to the big city delinquency area.

The concept of deviation pressures brings us back to the problem of motivation. Environmental pressures can guide a personality or they can thwart or confuse it. Where the pressures are numerous, complex, powerful, continuous, and fairly consistent, many individuals, perhaps most, never attempt to question or resist. Shaw insists that most of the delinquents in certain delinquency areas are perfectly "normal," i.e., emotionally normal boys who are simply swimming with the current. When they do not swim with the current, i.e., when the individual questions and tries to resist, the result may easily show itself in other forms of maladjustment. Thus, in a recent study of schizophrenics committed from delinquency areas in Chicago, it has been found that the great majority were persons of higher morality than the accepted type of their districts. While not conclusive, since it was confined to but one type of mental case, this study certainly opens an interesting field of inquiry. Are the mentally maladjusted cases from such areas predominantly people who struggle *against* the behavior patterns of their environment? Whether this is true or not, it seems to be clear that a disorganized environment such as a delinquency area can produce anti-social behavior *directly* merely by imposing its anti-social patterns on certain *unresisting* individuals, or it can produce such behavior *indirectly* by first creating a confused or maladjusted personality which then, to escape the tensions incident to its own frustrations, falls into anti-social habits as one way of relieving those tensions. In one case the motive power, so to speak, has functioned normally, but the *direction* has been twisted from without. In the other, the motive power has encountered an obstacle and *to overcome the obstacle* it has taken an anti-social direction which has thus been determined from within.

The answer to the question, "Why Delinquency?" then, depends on which of these factors has gone furthest askew. Is the delinquent an otherwise normal child who has simply accepted the dominant behavior patterns of his environment? Or is he an emotionally upset young person like Punch, who has stumbled on anti-social behavior as a means of reducing the emotional tension of his disappointments? In our attempt to understand delinquency we must take account of both possibilities. In a delinquency area where anti-social pressures are numerous and

powerful the delinquents are likely to be emotionally well-adjusted little "conformers." In a home that can produce a non-delinquent as well as a delinquent child, a home in which normal behavior patterns are in some degree present, *the delinquent is likely to be the child who has had emotional tensions not experienced by his non-delinquent brothers or sisters.*[4]

The Twofold Task of Prevention

This means that ultimately prevention must do two things: (1) change the anti-social behavior patterns of whole neighborhoods and cities; and (2) discover emotionally disturbed children and remove causes of their maladjustments before they can develop anti-social habits.

The problem of changing the environment we shall consider in later chapters. The immediate problem before we leave the question of causation is to understand more clearly the way in which the blockage of wish satisfactions affects the personality and ultimately behavior. What happens when the normal, usual wish motives of the personality are blocked or thwarted?

A child, or for that matter any human being, may be compared to an automobile. It has a certain internal motive power but its route is largely determined by the topography of the land and the highway pattern of the area (culture). So long as nothing interferes with the functioning of a person's wish motives he may be said to be running on a level road. The direction of the road, the composition of its surface, and so on are details determined by the road-building skill of the inhabitants—in other words, by the culture of the group. A normal child in a delinquency area is an automobile on a level road compelled to take a detour by the closing of the main highway. The detour is determined from without. But when on the route of a given car the grade gets too steep or the going too rough, the driver himself takes a detour. The only trouble with this analogy is that the autoist takes the detour deliberately with his eyes open. The individual

[4] Dr. William Healy and Dr. Augusta F. Bronner, *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment,* New Haven, 1936. Comparison of 105 pairs of delinquents and non-delinquents from the same homes in New Haven, Boston, and Detroit showed that in 91 per cent of the cases the delinquents had had some emotional shock or disappointment not experienced by their non-delinquent brothers or sisters.

for whom the going is rough usually takes his detour *without realizing clearly that it is a detour.* He falls into habits which take him around the difficulty all right, but not infrequently lead him away from the main road permanently.

THE CHILD'S BASIC NEEDS

Turning from our figure of speech to the realities of human behavior, we note that every child has four types of basic needs, four wish-satisfaction goals. These are:

1. Physical needs: (a) food, (b) clothing, (c) shelter.

2. Emotional needs: (a) status, (b) affection, (c) familial relationships, (d) psycho-sexual adjustment, (e) activity, (f) growth, (g) achievement.

3. Skills: (a) comfort skills, (b) age-group skills, (c) vocational skills, (d) personality-adjustment skills, i.e., habits of adjusting to success and failure.

4. Social orientation: (a) values, (b) ideals, (c) insight, or understanding of other persons, (d) a code of conduct.

The first three of these are, so to speak, motive-power needs; the fourth is a directional need. In other words, failure to satisfy the first three creates some kind of emotional disturbance in the personality which drives the personality to seek methods of reducing the tension. Failure to provide social orientation creates a problem not so much within the personality as in the relation of the personality to other personalities. Because of the way in which culture conditions motives, i.e., defines situations and goals of achievement, it is in the nature of the case impossible to separate problems of orientation completely from other kinds of blockages. But in the main, since we are here trying to understand the motive power rather than the highway system, our main concern is with personality adjustments to inadequate satisfaction of physical needs, emotional needs, or skill needs.

OBSTACLES TO SATISFACTION[5]

In general there are three kinds of obstacles to the satisfaction of any of these needs: (1) environmental obstacles, such as stupid

[5] Much of this discussion has been drawn from Laurance Frederic Shaffer, *The Psychology of Adjustment,* New York, 1936, the best synthesis of laboratory and clinical psychology known to the writer.

parents, poverty, and the like; (2) personal defects, like feeble-mindedness, glandular imbalance, and so on, some of which never can be surmounted; and (3) wish conflicts within the individual himself such as a child's wish for recognition as an athlete combined with his fear of competition or physical injury.

A prolific source of difficulty in our cities consists in what can be called contradictory signposts at the street corners. That is to say, children reared in an immigrant family tend to get one slant on life while their companions at school, the newspapers, and the movies give them a totally different slant. Hungarian families, for example, with a tradition of fuel-gathering on the lord's estate in Hungary not infrequently define coal-stealing from near-by railroad yards as permissible and "moral," and actually encourage their children to engage in it. The result for the child is confusion of values and uncertainty of social orientation. The same thing occurs wherever different cultures clash. The children in the area of friction suffer from the necessity of living at the same time in two different culture worlds, each of which defines life situations in its own way. Such a clash of cultures may not be confined to immigrant quarters. The delinquency areas of which we have spoken show unmistakable signs of culture conflicts. Hence at least some of the delinquency in such areas is explainable as the outcome of personality maladjustments induced by the clash of cultures.

PERSONAL DEFECTS AS OBSTACLES

Personal defects may be congenital or acquired. They include physical abnormalities, neurological and physical disabilities, sensory defects, speech defects, constitutional inferiorities, mental deficiency, and specific learning disabilities. Detailed discussions of such handicaps may be found in such books as *Clinical Psychology* by C. M. Louttit, *Child Psychiatry* by Leo Kanner, and similar works. Our present concern is merely with the fact that handicaps are always handicaps.

We shall confine ourselves to three types of such handicaps: *feeble-mindedness, the after-effects of certain acute infections,* and *irregularities in growth.*

What is the relationship between feeble-mindedness and deviant behavior?

As a group, juvenile delinquents make somewhat lower average mental test scores than does the general population. As Louttit remarks, however, "If we make comparison with children from the same socio-economic groups who are not delinquent, such differences in distribution are not evident." *Lane and Witty found that delinquents compare favorably with the norms, or averages, of the neighborhoods from which they come.*[6]

In general, various studies of the incidence of feeble-minded-ness (scores below 70) among juvenile delinquents show that it ranges from about four to ninety-seven times the theoretical 1 per cent which an average population would show, with a median in twenty-one more recent studies of 21 per cent. The accompanying table from Louttit (p. 374) shows the typical percentage I.Q. distribution of juvenile delinquents, as revealed in six recent studies:

I.Q.	Burt (1925)	Beane (1931)	Armstrong (1932)		Glueck and Glueck (1934)	Fenton (1935)	Livingston (1935)	Theoretical Distribution
Over 130 .	1.0				⎱ 41.6 ⎰	0.5	0	1
120–130 ..	1.0					2.3	2	5
110–120 ..	2.0	2.01	2.1	⎱ 0.9 ⎰		8.4	4	14
90–110 ..	43.7	24.67	17.4	11.7	40.7	40.7	33	60
80– 90 ..	29.0	27.00	21.1	⎱ 42.9 ⎰	28.2	28.7	27	14
70– 80 ..	15.7	27 66	27.9		17.1	15.3	22	5
Below 70..	7.6	18.65	31.5	44.5	13.1	4.1	12	1
No. of Cases...	197	300	660	1379	979	393	407	

The average percentage below 70 in these studies is 24.6. But since the high percentages come mainly from institutionalized cases, the degree of retardation shown is unquestionably much higher than would be found among the "run of the mine" cases of the juvenile courts. If we take one in eight as a fairer approximation of the number of feeble-minded children among all cases brought to court as delinquents, the coefficient of colliga-

[6] *Clinical Psychology,* New York, 1936, p. 374. Italics by present author.

tion of feeble-mindedness and delinquency is .605.[7] This does not mean that feeble-mindedness "causes" delinquency, but that mental deficiency and delinquency tend to some extent to go together in the court statistics. These statistics are, of course, notoriously skewed in favor of the more comfortable neighborhoods. In other words, the same factors which boost the delinquency rates in certain areas probably also operate to draw the duller and less successful types into those areas and to make adjustment more difficult once they are there. A handicap is always a handicap, and the rougher the going the harder it is to carry.

This applies also to the after-effects of infection and accidents. Involvement of the central nervous system is not uncommon in measles and varicella. Epidemic encephalitis, which may occur at any age from infancy to senescence, frequently leaves marked deteriorations in the personality. The crippling effects of many cases of infantile paralysis are, of course, well known. This disease accounts for 19 per cent of all crippled children on state registers. The point is, disease itself is a handicap during the course of the infection. And the poorer the child's family and the neighborhood, the greater the likelihood of such infection and the greater the likelihood that treatment will be slighted and that after-care will be inadequate. In other words, to any inherited and acquired personal handicaps an inadequate environment adds others whose cumulative effect may be to cripple the personality for life. This is a serious matter. Crippled children registered in 1940 in 51 states and territories totaled 248,627, or 5 per 100,000

[7] Out of an estimated 200,000 juvenile delinquents brought to court in a child population, 10-16, inclusive, of 17,000,000 each year, 25,000 thus would be feeble-minded. These would constitute 12 5 per cent of the delinquents and 14.7 per cent of the 170,000 (1 per cent) feeble-minded of the given ages. The formula for the coefficient of colligation is

$$w = \frac{1 - \sqrt{\dfrac{N_p P_n}{P_p N_n}}}{1 + \sqrt{\dfrac{N_p P_n}{P_p N_n}}},$$

in which N_p is the number of *feeble-minded non-delinquents*, P_n is the number of *"normal" delinquents*, P_p is the number of *feeble-minded delinquents*, and N_n is the number of *normal non-delinquents*. See Cyril Burt, *Mental and Scholastic Tests*, London, 1922, p. 217.

population under 21. These crippled and afflicted children who were registered were mainly the children of the poor.

To the handicaps imposed by their own personal defects—many of them traceable to the fact that they were poor—the social conditions around these children add still others to which they must adjust if they are to lead acceptable lives. But before we turn to an analysis of the adjustment process we must return to one more type of "obstacle" which seems inherent in certain physical types.

Mankind has been familiar with the phenomenon of organic growth for ages, but only in recent years have scientists undertaken to understand it. From the point of view of delinquency control, one of the most interesting discoveries is that not only do different people grow at different rates but that different parts of the same body may grow at different rates and that when this occurs disturbances in behavior are not infrequently correlated with it. Thus Dr. Willard Olson, for example, has found evidence that there are at least two distinct patterns of growth among children.[8] Some children seem to grow rapidly and symmetrically, i.e., bones, teeth, learning ability, and so on, all go along at about the same rate. Other children, however, have a quite different pattern of growth. Bones and teeth, for example, may grow at one rate while learning ability lags behind, or vice versa, and the entire rate of growth will fall behind that of the more symmetrical child.

Apparently in one child growth is a kind of luxuriating process with plenty of margin; in another it is a pinched, irregular process that cannot seem quite to get going as it should. Comparing mental age, dental age, carpal age, height age, reading age, and weight age, Dr. Olson finds that when most of the characteristics measured are growing normally (at average or better) one is likely to have a well-adjusted child, a child who has a plus margin, so to speak, for meeting life situations. In contrast, a typical slow-grower may appear to be a case of reading disability

because of the discrepancy between his mental age, life age and reading age. However, when we view him in terms of the total picture presented . . . we are impressed with the fact that the growth in reading

[8] *Pupil Development and the Curriculum,* Bureau of Educational Reference and Research, Ann Arbor, 1937, chap. xi.

is an expression of the personality as a whole. The problem is not one to be accounted for in purely sensory or learning terms. Lack of responsiveness to remedial teaching further demonstrates the deep-seated character of the problem. We are finding slow growth of the organism as a whole characteristic of children having difficulties in reading or in general behavior.

Children whose growth curves are fairly evenly distributed on each side of the curve of average development fall into the group of "normal" or average children, and typically these children do *not* have high problem tendencies.

Dr. Olson points out a number of problems still to be solved before the relationship between growth and behavior adjustment can be fully understood. In the meantime, he observes, "the student of child development is struck by the individuality of growth curves and by the futility of setting any standard in terms of group averages or in terms of considerations extrinsic to the individual child. It is not surprising that the student of growth becomes impatient with an emphasis on minimum essentials, grade standards, classification, promotion, and marking systems. These practices, apparently, have quite negligible effects in terms of growth patterns when subjected to comparative studies. At times there is some reason to believe that such effects as are obtained are actually detrimental to the general behavioral adjustment of the person."

In other words, over and above all the other handicaps or obstacles that a child may face—environmental conflicts, visible personal defects, mental deficiencies, and so on—there is this subtle factor of the rate and symmetry of his own growth. For whatever obscure reasons which are not yet understood—possible internal tensions, glandular imbalance, insecurities, and the like —retarded and unsymmetrical growth tends to go with maladjustment to life situations; normal or accelerated growth tends to go with good adjustment. More than ever, therefore, are parents, teachers, probation officers, and others who deal with children challenged to understand the child's personality, to understand it as a growing, developing *whole,* and to understand it in relation to the stresses and strains of the world to which it must react. More than ever are standardization and regimentation in the

home, in the school, in the correctional institution indefensible in the light of modern knowledge.

But what, now, does a child do when he encounters one of these obstacles in the environment, in his own defects, or in wish conflicts in his own mind?

Remember that the characteristic of frustration (wish blockage) is *suffering*. Remember that the tendency to escape suffering is a fundamental biological drive in every organism. The child denied physical care, emotional satisfaction, and the skills normal for his age-group, sex, and social class is suffering. Hence he is driven by uncontrollable biological forces to try first one thing and then another to reduce his suffering. It is purely a trial-and-error process. He does not know what to do. Few grown-ups do. Child and adult alike are exactly in the condition of the hungry infant referred to above whose drive has not yet acquired the habit-mechanisms necessary to satisfy it. So, like the hungry infant, the victim of frustration tries first one thing and then another. Different types of personality favor different methods. Some may try increased effort. Sometimes this works, and the tension disappears. But if the blockage comes, say, from a parent's death, from a terrifying experience, or from a conflict of wishes, increased effort does not reduce the tension. The psychiatrists tell us that there are many things which an individual can do to relieve tension. By increasing effort, or by redefining the situation, or by finding a different goal, or by regarding satisfaction as merely deferred or as symbolically attained—in various ways of this sort one may reduce the tension and make a socially acceptable adjustment. But as we said before, lacking all knowledge of mental hygiene, the average child stumbles into this situation and must, as best he can, stumble out. If he does not happen to hit upon one of the more acceptable methods of adjustment he will blunder on one of the less acceptable methods, and if one of these gives relief he will almost certainly use it again. The consequences, if the environmental pressure continues, may be much more serious ultimately than any ordinary delinquency: state's prison or the insane asylum claim hundreds of thousands of the seriously maladjusted, and lifelong unhappiness, failure, and even suicide doom the destinies of millions more.

MALADJUSTMENT AS ADJUSTMENT BY EXAGGERATION

The important thing to remember is that most unsuccessful methods of adjustment are simply normal, everyday methods *carried to extremes.* In other words, one large group of adjustments may be called *adjustment by exaggeration.* Thus, one convenient way of dealing with an unpleasant experience is to forget it. That works very well for all of us until the unpleasant experience happens to be loaded with so much emotional energy—so much potential suffering—that it remains "alive" in the personality *after it has been forgotten!* When that happens the personality is in trouble; it is maladjusted.

Repression.—For instance, there is the true story of the little English boy who was terrorized one day by the attack of a big dog in a closed-in hallway from which the boy could not escape. The sense of his helplessness and terror was so painful to that boy that he couldn't bear to think about it—he put the experience out of his mind and wouldn't let it come back. Then presently people noticed that he was nervously upset whenever he got into a cabin or sleeping-car berth or other closed-in place. He couldn't remember why he was upset. He just was. When the war came he couldn't sleep in a dugout, broke down at the Front, and had to be invalided home. It took a long course of treatment to resurrect that childhood shock or trauma and drain away its emotional energy by tying it into the rest of his personality with the usual symbols of thought and language. His trouble had all come from the fact that in the crucial hours or weeks after that terrorizing experience in the shut-in hallway he had stumbled on the immediately satisfying method of forgetting all about it instead of facing it steadily and being afraid in a normal way. He had carried the normal process of forgetting to an extreme.   .

The psychiatrists call that *repression,* and they believe that extroverts, or people who are more interested in outside things than in their own thoughts, are more likely to use this method of reducing tension than are introverts. The resistance that the personality makes to recalling such experiences is sometimes spoken of as "the censor." Probably there is no such *thing* as this sort of "censor." The "censor" is merely the *way* certain personalities act

in trying to avoid the suffering that thinking about a painful experience would cause them.

Other ordinary ways of meeting a difficulty are to increase effort, as we have said, to make sure that other people pay the necessary attention to us, or to explain or give reasons for what we do. These are perfectly normal—so long as they do not go to extremes.

Defense.—They go to extremes when we become defensive, i.e., try to cover up some weakness or shortcoming by means of these methods of adjustment. Then these methods become *defense mechanisms.* Defense mechanisms are developed by practically all personalities in some degree at some time to reduce the suffer- ing caused by feelings of inferiority. Feelings of inferiority are inevitable in the process of growing up, getting an education, making sexual adjustments, and finding one's place in a complex economic society. They are frequently due, not to the fact of inferiority, but to the individual's belief in his own inferiority. For example, practically all boys in our culture practice mas- turbation at some stage of their development. Actually, therefore, there can be no inferiority of one boy as compared with another in this respect, but what the boy *feels* is not the universality of the practice, a universality of which he knows nothing, but the attitude of stern disapproval and condemnation which society has developed to socialize sexual energy. Knowing himself to be violating the code which he supposes all "decent" boys are living up to, he feels inferior, and the higher his ideals and the more confirmed his habit, the keener his suffering. Hence, the more inevitable some kind of defensive behavior—over-aggression, playing for attention, rationalization, and the like.

Within limits, defensive behavior may have distinct social value. Much artistic and scientific achievement has probably been motivated by it. But it also leads to anti-social behavior.

Certain forms of anti-social behavior such as lying and stealing frequently have their roots in efforts to compensate for feelings of inferiority. Sherman distinguishes three types of motivation un- derlying such conduct: (1) lying and stealing to be on a par with playmates; (2) lying and stealing to gain attention; and (3) lying and stealing as emotional outlets for conflicts, often sexual, and

for other adjustment difficulties. Shaffer regards the first two of these and some cases of the third class as defensive adjustments.

As in the case of repression, defensive adjustments when carried to extremes may result in serious personality abnormalities, such as blaming failure on the conspiracies of others, delusions of persecution, and the like.

Emotional Indulgence.—We have spoken of repression and defensive behavior as methods of reducing tension. Another method adopted, particularly by the extroverted personality, is to go on an *emotional spree.* This is another "normal" adjustment pattern carried to extremes. To react to an obstacle with rage or anger seems to be a perfectly respectable—at least very ancient—biological method of increasing available energy and therefore increasing the chance of victory. That most of the obstacles which civilized man encounters require discrimination rather than force for their removal is, however, one of the reasons why emotional behavior is at a discount and all little boys and girls must be taught to control their tempers. Occasionally, however, some youngster discovers that *his* parents don't know how to handle a temper tantrum, and from that point on society has a problem child on its hands and may count itself lucky if it doesn't have another asylum inmate before he dies. The temper tantrum grown up is the manic-depressive patient of our mental hospitals. Getting mad at the world is a way of working up energy and overcoming obstacles, true enough, and a certain amount of it probably goes into the history of every youngster, but for satisfactory results to all concerned, the individual mustn't acquire the habit of getting too mad. He mustn't let himself go and he mustn't use his "mad fits" as a means of controlling others. When he does, he is maladjusted, a problem child who may easily become delinquent or criminal.

Repression, defense mechanisms, and temper tantrums are all perfectly normal or usual adjustment methods *carried to extremes.*

Withdrawing.—Another type of adjustment by exaggeration is to overdo the familiar practice of *daydreaming.* Daydreaming is a perfectly normal method of escaping from the ordinary unpleasantness of schoolroom, one's own company, or any sort of situation that can be handled automatically. All of us do it, and

Shaffer reports practically all of 64 men and 131 women in college admitting having daydreamed. Only 2 per cent reported no recent daydreams. But again as in the case of forgetting, use of defense mechanisms, and emotional indulgence, daydreaming as a means of adjustment to a painful situation is a dangerous expedient. In fact, it is so deceptively easy and so difficult to check once the habit has been established that it is one of the most dangerous of all. The mental hospitals are filled with insane people who have run away from their troubles into a world of dreams and can't ever be brought back again.[9]

A few years ago in a rural school in southern Michigan a teacher noticed that a little girl kept sitting at her desk day after day looking out of the window. Nothing the teacher could do could attract the child's attention for more than a few minutes, and she showed absolutely no interest in her lessons. Then one night the child's father killed her mother and himself, and the story behind that child's withdrawal came out: Night after night for weeks before the tragedy that father, gradually going insane himself, had roused his family, lined them up against the wall and kept them standing there for hours at the point of a shotgun. No wonder the little girl "ran away" from reality!

Where the extrovert tries to repress his trouble or to escape from it by going on an emotional spree, the introvert like this little girl slips away into a world of dreams. Children who are too quiet, too shy, too willing to crawl away into a corner by themselves are withdrawing from something. Frequently they need help more than any other type. But they disturb no one. They do not bully the first graders, like the boy who is overcompensating for his own inferior social status. They do not give way to temper tantrums or steal things needlessly in the cloakroom. They merely dream—and drift farther and farther from reality day by day.

Regression.—Sometimes the daydream takes the form of a return to a simpler level of adjustment. Now all of us return to a simpler level of adjustment every time we go fishing or go to sleep. But the thing can be overdone, and at its extreme it becomes that difficult type of mental abnormality known as *regres-*

[9] For a suggestive example see Conrad Aiken, "Silent Snow, Secret Snow" in *The Bedside Book of Famous American Short Stories*, edited by Angus Burrell and Bennett A. Cerf, New York, 1939.

sion. Cases abound of patients who, recoiling from some unbear-
ably painful experience, regress all the way to infancy. Aichhorn
tells of a boy in his teens who regressed from the shock of dis-
covering his mother mangled in a fatal industrial accident and
spent the day of the funeral playing with his blocks. This sug-
gests that, important as adjustment by withdrawal is, it is prob-
ably more important as a cause of insanity than as a cause of
actual delinquency.

Repression, defense, emotional indulgence, withdrawal, and
regression are the main forms of adjustment by exaggeration.
Most delinquencies that are due to wish-blockages at all can be
traced to one or the other of these.

Hysteria and Worry.—Psychiatrists, however, recognize other
forms of personality maladjustment such as "adjustment by ail-
ment," or *hysteria*; and persistent non-adjustive reactions such as
worry. Many children suffer from hysteria and worry because of
frustrations, but as these forms of maladjustment seldom cause
anti-social behavior we shall not pause to discuss them here.

WHERE DO EMOTIONAL ILLS COME FROM?

Up to this point our discussion has been centered largely on
the individual, as is customary in most discussions of emotional
troubles.[10] But antedating the emotional difficulties of the indi-
vidual there is usually some defect either in the organism or in
the environment. If the individual's personality is inherently
below par, the demands of a normal environment become de-
fects *in relation to the inadequacies of that particular personality.*
And overshadowing all of us, adequate and inadequate alike,
there is the all-pervading fact of cultural disorganization—the
chronic stress and strain of a dynamic culture, parts of which keep
outgrowing other parts. In an Eskimo village all may starve when
the hunting is poor and no fish can be caught. But that anyone
in the village should starve when food is plentiful is utterly in-
conceivable. Eskimo folkways and mores protect the individual
within the limits of their level of technology. Such a culture,
however poor, is *integrated,* its parts hang together, and no

[10] For an able exception see Dr. James S. Plant, *Personality and the Cul-
tural Pattern,* New York, 1937.

individual need meet frustration because of cultural disorganization.

CULTURAL DISORGANIZATION

Contrast that with the situation in any American city. Despite droughts and floods there is almost no chance of the food supply failing; yet periodically millions of individuals have to face starvation because, our distributive techniques having lagged behind productive techniques, we do not know how to motivate production so as to keep everybody busy and supplied with necessities. Our child-rearing techniques having lagged behind city-building techniques, we find ourselves with millions of children playing in the streets. All through our urban culture the same picture of disorganization runs. The decline of common objectives in the home, a necessary consequence of industrialization and specialization, encourages individualization without providing any counter-tendency to insure the proper socialized orientation of the individual. Hence, anti-social reactions to discrimination and favoritism.

For ages as primary groups the family, the spontaneous play group, and the neighborhood have been the main agencies inculcating group-regarding sentiments in children. Modern urban culture has practically exterminated the last two and has radically weakened the family. For millions, the church has become a less gripping experience than it used to be. To take the place of such experiences that once engulfed the early years of all children, we have character-building agencies that reach a minority for a few hours a week, character education programs for a few more hours for a certain percentage of school children, and commercialized recreation for everybody's spare time.

What it all comes to is that social needs under modern conditions in rural as well as urban communities have outrun the average man's understanding of them and his social machinery for meeting them. The social challenges that a changing culture presents to our children have outrun the adjustive techniques with which we equip them. Parents go on dodging sex problems in an age when movies, coeducation, automobiles, contraceptives, and delayed marriage make sex problems the most insistent issues facing youth. They impose stern discipline on children whose

friends never heard of the word, and no discipline at all on children who on the highways control more brute power than grown men ever attained to a century ago. We take boys and girls of fine and eager sensibilities, alive to beauty and harmony and the vividness of life, and pin them down at dull tasks without meaning except as hypothetical preparation for an even duller routine of earning a living, the prospects of which fluctuate with every depression. We lay out subdivisions with every foot of space taken up in streets and thirty-foot lots, with not one single foot set aside for beauty or for play. We let commercial competition run riot and then wonder why boys make a business of stealing radiator caps to sell to the proprietors of cut-rate stores!

It is all of a piece. Juvenile delinquency is merely one symptom of our failure to make our institutions serve the basic needs of life—of everybody's life; a symptom of our failure to integrate the patterns of our personalities with the patterns of our culture. As Reinhold Niebuhr says, "The crime problem of American cities, which we try to solve by ever greater police vigilance, is only a symptom of the spiritual chaos in which the average urbanite lives."[11]

It is more than that: It is a symptom of the spiritual chaos in which all of us live—ruralite as well as urbanite; a symptom of our failure to build into American society any unified meaning of life.

So we are ready to answer "Why delinquency?"

1. Because *we adults* are too selfish, ignorant, unskillful, vicious, or indifferent to take the measures necessary to prevent it.

2. Because *we adults* permit anti-social behavior patterns to be thrust upon millions of children who cannot help themselves.

3. Because *we adults* permit millions to grow up in wish-thwarting, personality-twisting environments.

4. Because, finally and fundamentally, *we adults* have let scientists, inventors, and business enterprisers change our modes of living faster than *we* have changed our modes of thinking and feeling; because *we* have let the complexities and inconsistencies of our culture outrun our institutional modes of adjustment; be-

[11] *The Contribution of Religion to Social Work*, New York, 1932, p. 38.

cause *we* have let ourselves become walking anachronisms—ox-cart minds in a stream-lined world.

So we have delinquency.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What are the two basic reasons for deviant behavior?
2. Who controls the child's world?
3. Is delinquency biologically inherited? ‹
4. What does the term delinquent refer to in the discussion of *Baa Baa Black Sheep*? In the discussion of slum conditions?
5. What is the social cost of a slum?
6. Would you say that feeble-mindedness was the cause of Stanley's delinquency?
7. What do you infer from Edith's case?
8. Who was delinquent in Tony's case?
9. What do you think of the doctrine of individual responsibility in the case of the young gangsters?
10. What can adults do about all this?
11. How are causes classifiable?
12. What is meant by calling innate drives "inefficient"?
13. Distinguish the rôle of motor habits, symbol-using habits, skills, expectations, attitudes, motives, sentiments, behavior patterns.
14. What is an anti-social behavior pressure?
15. In what specific ways do such pressures vary in different environments?
16. What important fact was brought out by the Healy and Bronner study?
17. Can you give an original classification of a child's basic needs?
18. What obstacles block satisfaction of basic needs?
19. What are some of the personal defects that constitute obstacles?
20. What is the relation of feeble-mindedness to delinquency?
21. What is the importance of Dr. Olson's discoveries concerning the relationship of growth to behavior?
22. What is the psychological characteristic of frustration or thwarting? ·
23. What are some acceptable methods of overcoming frustration?
24. What is adjustment by exaggeration? What forms does it take?
25. Give an example of repression.
26. When is a defense mechanism a symptom of maladjustment?
27. Explain emotional indulgence.
28. Why is withdrawing behavior more dangerous than some other types of maladjustment?
29. What is regression?

30. What would good mental hygiene prescribe for a case of worry?
31. Distinguish between an integrated, a non-integrated and a disintegrated culture.
32. Give evidences of the "spiritual chaos" that Neibuhr mentions. Why would this be a factor in delinquency?

Chapter V

Community Deviation Pressures

In general before the Civil War the average white child in America lived in the open country or in a small rural community, attended school for a few months in the winter, learned how to make a living by working long hours on his father's farm or in some small workshop or store, found his own recreation as opportunity offered in hunting, fishing, swimming, or in neighborhood parties, and looked forward to marrying early and settling down, if not in the community of his birth at least in one substantially like it. In the settled communities of the East, a child's entire childhood and youth would be spent in association with people who had known his parents, if not his grandparents, from infancy. Wherever he went and whatever he did, he was always known by name to somebody and usually it was somebody whose opinion he had to consider. Even in the new communities of the West neighborhoods were still gossip areas.[1] In short, the average child lived most of his life in the close, socializing association of the fundamental primary groups that have formed the core of organized society for ages—the family, the spontaneous play group, and the simple neighborhood. Until long after the growth of manufactures had accentuated the drift to the impersonal hurly-burly of the city, the family, the play group and the old-fashioned neighborhood continued to form the matrix in which the great majority of American children like Mark Twain grew up.

The family was still an economic as well as a social unit. On the farms and even in the villages, women still had definite economic tasks to perform, from helping with the chores to soapmaking, canning, dressmaking, and housecleaning. In the absence of paid servants and specialized services, running a home even in

[1] See Everett Dick, *The Sod House Frontier, 1854-1890*, New York, 1937.

town was a highly cooperative enterprise in which all members of the family participated. In the country the single-family farm system which still survives flourished on the taken-for-granted labor of women and children. Common economic needs imposed a certain discipline on children which the opinions of the neighbors and the sanctions of dogmatic religion combined to reinforce. Families were large, mothers had little opportunity to neglect their homes, and children received intensive training in the art of getting along with others.

'Recreation was simple, spontaneous, and inexpensive. Like their elders who had to cooperate on occasions in barn-raisings, husking bees, barn dances and the like, youngsters had to provide most of their own amusements. But in a world of beckoning woods, streams, haystacks, attics, dogs, cows, cats, birds, and wide-open spaces, good times waited mainly on freedom from the necessary work. There were no bicycles, automobiles, movies, Y.M.C.A.'s, Boy Scouts, model airplanes, organized playgrounds, radios, television sets, fresh-air camps, family welfare agencies or government relief offices. Social failures were cared for by their own relatives or relegated to the poorhouse. Certain eastern cities even long before the Civil War had already developed slums that were vile beyond imagining, but the average American had never heard of an "underworld," had yet to see the dazzling success of stock manipulators and monopoly-builders, and, never having imagined Hollywood or Reno, still looked forward to a life of responsibility based on thrift and lasting wedlock.

True, there were wasters, tipplers, idlers, and loose characters in every village, and there were always delicious rumors concerning the details of such an abandoned way of living. But respectable opinion was self-confident and uncompromising: Hell was too good for them! Modern psychiatrists discern a certain causal connection between the seductiveness of an evil and the vigor of its denunciation. No doubt the repressions and evasions of a century ago contributed not a little to the covert nastiness and hypocrisy of the time. Young America was preternaturally curious about many things that might easily have been robbed of much emotional dynamite. But at least young people in those days seldom lacked exact verbal specifications for identifying evil a mile away. That some like Tom Sawyer and less respectable

youths spent more time looking for it than avoiding it was due perhaps more to this faulty psychological technique than to original sin. But the confusing definitions of a changing culture seldom entered the picture. On the whole, whatever may have been the amount of hypocrisy and secret immorality engendered by intense individualism in the awesome presence of dogmatic religion, open delinquency and crime remained relatively infrequent in rural America.[2] The very firmness of the control exercised by family, playmates, neighbors, and church, although it may have contributed to certain types of individual maladjustment such as we see in the *Scarlet Letter* and in *Ethan Frome,* and such as we hear echoes of from the old southern plantations,[3] nevertheless probably prevented many others.

The development of urban industrialism after the Civil War and particularly after the eighties has revolutionized this picture. Economic interdependence has widened from the household to the factory and the market, and these in turn have become integral parts of a system of interdependence ranging from the community to the world. With the increasing complexity of life, old controls, both external and internal, have weakened. Disruptive or positively anti-social pressures have grown stronger. Wider and more impersonal interdependence; increased specialization— schools, police departments, special courts, leisure-time agencies, clinics, reformatories; increased power of movement; fewer primary, more secondary, contacts—all these changes have blurred the uniformity of cultural stereotypes and increased the chance of variation.

A century ago the control of juvenile behavior was regarded as a relatively simple matter. The culture pattern required one to teach one's children "the difference between right and wrong" and to punish the ones that willfully disregarded God's word. That this sometimes involved punishing the children of shiftless, vicious, or criminal parents who had never presented to their children real alternatives between good and evil apparently troubled nobody. One's own children required a precious lot of leading in the way of righteousness, but the children of the God-

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[2] Subject always to the cultural definition of crime. Feuds and duels in the South, for example, were not so defined in public opinion till the 1800's.

[3] See Calhoun's *History of the American Family,* Vol. II.

Courtesy *The Michigan Education Journal*

An Automobile Hit Him Twenty Minutes Later

A few minutes after this picture was taken an automobile injured this youngster
who had no place but the street in which to rollerskate. Within a few blocks of this
unlovely locality on the East Side of Detroit the leaders of the notorious criminal mob
known as the Purple Gang grew up and learned how to take care of themselves by
playing in the street as this boy was doing

less were supposed to develop consciences of their own by some sort of miraculous intervention of the Almighty. No good citizen would have dreamed of letting his own children go uninstructed in good and evil, but he regarded the quality of parental instruction as quite irrelevant when the son of the town ne'er-do-well robbed a henroost. Wrongdoing must always be punished even though the wrongdoer had never had a chance to go right.

It may temper our own sense of moral superiority at this point to reflect that even in 1940 Americans were still doing essentially the same thing with less reason. They were still visiting on helpless children not only the sins of the fathers but the fathers' social misfortunes. Despite mothers' pensions, Aid to Dependent Children, child welfare movements and all the rest, (1) for health, (2) for education, (3) for vocational preparation, and (4) even for an opportunity to earn a living itself, most children still depended on the kind of parents they had been fortunate enough to select. With 31 per cent of the children of New York City on relief in 1938, for example, American civilization still had no reason to look askance at the simple barbarities of the rough and ready days of Andrew Jackson and General Grant. After all, there was probably more sense in holding young ragamuffins like Huckleberry Finn personally responsible for social irresponsibility in the early 1870's despite a father's disreputability than in withholding equal opportunities from the son of a respectable W.P.A. worker in the 1930's.

WHAT ARE BEHAVIOR NORMS AND WHY?

Every group in order to function as a group, in order to coordinate activities and provide a reasonable basis of expectation against the future, develops *patterns of behavior* and *codes of conduct* which are designed to produce action according to the patterns in the specific situations for which they have been evolved.[4] As Sumner long ago pointed out, this patterning,

[4] "We find norms wherever we find an organized society, primitive or complicated. These norms serve as focal points in the experience of the individual, and subsequently as guides for his actions." Muzafer Sherif, *Psychology of Social Norms*, New York, 1936, p. 85. As a child grows, "Standardized norms are imposed on him in play, in regulating his behavior in eating and sleeping; even his relationships to other individuals—parents, playmates, teachers—are prescribed to a great extent." *Ibid.*, p. 60.

code-building process begins with the *folkways* which are the un-attended-to, unenforced, common ways of acting in situations that come up over and over again and are so simple that it has never occurred to anyone to act in any other way. When these common ways of acting come to consciousness and therefore become subjects of choice, sanctions tend to evolve to narrow the range of choice and to impress on everyone the necessity of carrying out the common patterns. These attended-to and sanctioned patterns Sumner called *mores*. In complexity they may vary all the way from a custom to an institution, and in compulsiveness all the way from an opinion-enforced belief in witches to the police-enforced law against murder. The point is, there are always patterns, and in one way or another every culture always seeks to impose on its members those patterns which it considers particularly important.

Hence the phenomena which the social psychologists explain by the *J*-curve hypothesis. The *J*-curve hypothesis is simply that culture skews behavior; in other words, that in a right-hand-driving culture most drivers tend to drive on the right-hand side of the road and in a culture that values and protects private property most individual behavior tends toward the "honesty" end of the scale. What we are concerned with here is not the fact that by and large culture does skew behavior, but with the fact that *in most of the important matters of life such skewing is almost never 100 per cent perfect—there is always a scattering of "non-conformers," i.e., individuals who do not fit in.* Why should this be true?

Probably for two reasons: (1) individual differences, and (2) deviation pressures in the environment which to a greater or less degree tend to counterbalance and sometimes even to nullify the cultural pressures for conformity.

INDIVIDUAL VARIATION

Biologists have long made us familiar with the fact that living things vary around certain central tendencies. Thus a thousand white American males may be expected to vary in height from about four feet ten inches to six feet four, with the greatest number measuring about five feet eight. This means that if some legislature were to enact a law to the effect that nobody over six

feet should drive an automobile, about 5 per cent of the male population in that state would be debarred from driving. Since practically all of these individuals would regard such a law as an unwarranted interference with their individual rights, a considerable percentage of the male population would proceed to disregard it at every opportunity. In other words, any behavior pattern imposed without regard to individual differences does not insure uniformity of behavior but merely creates additional problems of non-conformity, depending on the extent to which the differences are modifiable, etc. In the same way, intelligence test scores vary widely around the so-called normal range of 90 to 110. But the compulsory school attendance law in most states takes no account of such individual differences. Thus practically everywhere a twelve-year-old child with a mental maturity of fifteen and a fifteen-year-old with a mental maturity of twelve both face the same requirement: class attendance regularly till their sixteenth birthday. For the twelve-year-old with the fifteen-year-old mind this means that *unless the school work for him is of fifteen-year level* it will be so easy that much of his time can be devoted to figuring out new ways of entertaining the class. For the fifteen-year-old with the twelve-year-old mind it means that *unless special allowances are made for his mental retardation* the fifteen-year-old classwork will be away beyond him. He will likewise lose interest and will have strong incentives to "save his face" by bedeviling the teacher, bullying little boys on the playground, or joining tough companions. Again disregard of fundamental individual differences does not produce uniformity of behavior but merely additional problems of non-conformity.

This is especially true when in addition to disregard of individual differences, definite deviation pressures are present in the environment.

THE CONCEPT OF DEVIATION PRESSURE

We have found that an individual fails to "fit in" chiefly for two reasons, (1) *emotional-conflicts*; and (2) acceptance of *anti-social behavior patterns*. We must now ask what situations tend to create emotional conflicts or to present anti-social behavior patterns? For convenience we shall call both types of situation deviation pressures: in other words, any situation that frustrates

normal needs and/or presents any external stimulus toward departure from the cultural norms of behavior for the satisfaction of such needs we shall call a *deviation pressure*. Thus, *a deviation pressure is anything in the environment that either blocks adjustment or turns adjustment in an anti-social direction.* From this point of view, a father's rejection of his son and a moving picture's portrayal of how to break into a locked automobile are both deviation pressures.

At present, there is no way of identifying such pressures consistently, to say nothing of measuring them. But in a general way there is some ground for believing that in *number, variety, intensity, direction,* and *continuity* deviation pressures vary enormously in different social situations. Such pressures in a city slum, for example, undoubtedly far exceed those in an ordinary open country neighborhood. There is probably a gradient of such pressures from rural areas to the deteriorated areas of great cities, but the differentials cannot yet be measured.[5]

DEVIATION EXPECTANCY

By rating the kind, amount, and intensity of maladjustment observable in children Willard C. Olson and others have discovered that it is statistically possible to predict that children with a high degree of emotional maladjustment, for example, are much more likely than the average to manifest anti-social behavior. Thus, many of the children who are in danger of becoming delinquent can be identified years before their maladjustments would normally reach the juvenile courts. More important still, through these maladjustments of the children the *families* that are in need of parent education and other assistance in child-rearing can be singled out for help. Fallible as the method may be in many cases, it is still of enormous practical value for school administrators and community leaders who really desire to *prevent*, and not merely to go on *treating*, delinquency.

Yet still further advances in techniques of measurement are needed. Behavior does not issue straight from the emotional maladjustments of the child. There is always a social situation in

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[5] This is merely one phase of the more complicated problem of *cultural margins*. A cultural margin is the behavior-difference value between one situation and a similar situation in another cultural area.

which the child acts, a social situation which is not infrequently compounded of the same deviation pressures that have produced the emotional maladjustments in the first place. Thus, behavior is a resultant rather than a result, a resultant of the *adjustment potentialities* of the personality *interacting* with the *deviation pressures* of the environment. Behavior-rating scales have provided a means for measuring the adjustment potentialities of the personality. What is needed still is a comparable technique for measuring the deviation pressures of the environment.

How Measure Environmental Deviation Pressures?

A number of ways of attacking this problem can be suggested. One would be to devise a scale based on environmental conditions which have actually been observed around individual delinquent, maladjusted, and non-maladjusted children. Another would be to obtain statistical indexes of a variety of "desirable" and "undesirable" conditions in different areas of a city and relate these to delinquency and maladjustment. Mrs. Minna Faust, research assistant for the Michigan Juvenile Delinquency Information Service of the University of Michigan, used this second method as one part of a study of *Juvenile Delinquency in Flint in the Light of Social, Economic and Cultural Factors, 1925-1934.*[6] From a housing survey of 41 Flint districts in 1934 she was able to obtain city and district averages for some 11 social and economic indexes, including the number of families with telephones, the number without automobiles, homes without basements; families broken by death, divorce, desertion; individuals without church affiliations, and so on. It was then a simple matter to determine to what extent each index in each district varied from the city average and to find the standard deviation. Variations in the direction of economic dearth or insecurity, family disorganization, inadequate institutional contacts, etc., were regarded as positive (deliquency-tending) deviation pressures, and variations in the opposite direction were regarded as negative deviation pressures (i.e., pressures for conformity). Since the objective was to measure positive deviation

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[6] Unpublished report on file in University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor. The study actually covered 62 social and economic indexes, but only eleven of the most significant ones were finally used.

pressures, or risk factors, and not to measure the actual *balance* of positive and negative factors in each district, the negative factors were ignored in further computations. For each district the deviation from the city average of each positive deviation-pressure index was then divided by the standard deviation of that index and the resulting figure was set down in a table. Each of the 41 housing districts thus was given an abstract number summing up its total above-average (positive) deviation pressures and this was finally expressed as a percentage of the city's total. Thus, District No. 1, for example, a garage-home, unorganized-fringe settlement with 3.1 per cent of the juvenile population, 10-16, and the fourth highest delinquency rate in the city (2.4 per cent), carried a deviation-pressure percentage of 7.1. In other words, District No. 1 had slightly more than 7 per cent of all the above-average positive risk indexes, or deviation pressures, in Flint as measured by the 11 indexes studied. This was the area of highest environmental deviation pressure in the city as measured by these 11 variables. By the method of rank differences, the delinquency rates for 1933-34 in the 41 districts correlated with these percentages of deviation-pressure indexes .78, equivalent to a Pearsonian r of .79.

As shown below, the ten highest-delinquency districts (delinquency rates from 1.7 to 3.4 per cent) had about six times the deviation pressures that appeared in the ten lowest-delinquency districts (delinquency rates from 0.1 to 0.6 of one per cent). In this way, as measured by the *percentage of departures* from the city average in the *delinquency-tending direction* in the ten highest- and in the ten lowest-delinquency districts based on such departures in all twenty districts, the "pressure intensity rates" for each pressure index were those in the table on page 107.[7]

In other words, relative to the total percentage of delinquency-tending departures from the 20-district average, the 10 highest-delinquency districts had *over eleven hundred times* the handicap in unemployment that the 10 lowest-delinquency districts had. They had from eight to more than two hundred times the handicap in other economic indexes—families without telephones,

[7] For the deviation-pressure ratings given to each of the ten highest-delinquency areas and to each of the ten lowest-delinquency areas, see Figure 4, p. 42.

Percentage Departing from 20-District Average in Delinquency-Causative Direction	10 Highest-Delinquency Districts	10 Lowest-Delinquency Districts	Ratio of Disadvantage of 10 Highest-Delinquency Districts
Families without telephones.....	7.13	0.80	8.9
Families without autos.........	12.33	0.06	205.5
Houses without basements.....	11.06	0.74	14.9
Families broken by death, desertion, divorce......	9.30	2.49	3.7
Individuals without church affiliations	5.56	2.00	2.7
Individuals not attending church every Sunday.....	4.97	3.26	1.5
Individuals 21–60 not in industrial, professional, etc., organizations	6.49	2.23	2.9
Individuals reading fiction (instead of non-fiction).........	5.09	2.36	2.1
Unemployment	11.64	0.01	1164.0
Individuals ill....	5.78	0.34	17.0
Families moving to present address within year...........	5.68	0 68	8.3
Sum of percentages........	85 03	14.97	

houses without basements, families without automobiles. The high-delinquency districts had seventeen times the handicap of the lowest-delinquency districts in illness and over eight times the handicap of high family mobility (families moving within the year). Handicaps in other variables ranged from ratios of 3.7 (broken families) to 1.5 (irregularity of church attendance). Every deviation pressure index, in other words, showed a definite disadvantage existing in the high-delinquency districts. It is not suggested that the measures developed in this study were adequate as measures of environmental deviation pressures. The fact that the correlation between them and the delinquency rate in the 41 districts was only .78 indicates that they were not wholly adequate. But at least they represent a beginning in a direction that would seem worthy of further exploration.

Let us now come back to the same problem in terms of the individual child. What is ultimately desired is a prediction table for individuals as well as for areas.

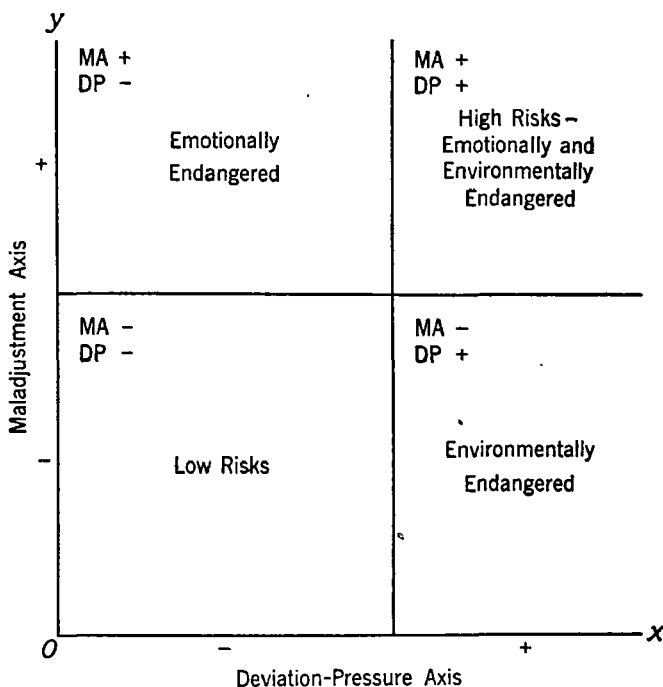## How Predict an Individual's Chances?

Roughly, the problem of predicting a child's chances of becoming delinquent can be expressed as the problem of finding the point at which two lines intersect—one line drawn at a 90-degree angle from the individual's score on the personality Maladjustment Axis (y), the other erected perpendicular to the Deviation-Pressure Axis (x) at some point measuring the deviation pressures to which he is exposed. (See Figure 20.) With that point of intersection established, we should be able to say what the chances are for any particular child to become delinquent. At present, not knowing the environmental pressures except as those are registered indirectly in the maladjustment score, the process is open to considerable error. Not only do many of the children with fairly high maladjustment scores never become delinquent, but many children who make perfectly normal personal adjustment scores wind up in the courts apparently because of the deviation pressures of their environment. Of course there will always be exceptional cases in which environmental pressures suddenly become so overwhelming that delinquency seems the only way out. Thus a boy who has sung for years in his church choir becomes venereally infected and is afraid to ask for help from his parents. Helpless without money, he steals from the church office and is haled into court as a delinquent. No methods yet devised would predict such delinquency as this. But probably such cases are comparatively rare. The behavior of most children will probably continue to be the resultant of the interaction of their adjustment capacities and the *long-time* deviation pressures of their environment. If the truth were known, that is probably what even the case just mentioned expresses. That boy's inability to seek help from his parents in a situation of shame and humiliation could hardly have been an entirely new inhibition. One suspects that even in these sudden explosions of "well-adjusted" children there is a history either of concealed maladjustment or of environmental blockages.

A Prediction Chart

Figure 20 shows how a deviation-pressure rating scale would contribute to the prediction of delinquency. Individuals with

high scores on both axes (+ +) would rate as high risks; those with low scores on both axes (— —) would rank as low risks; and those with one high and one low score (+ — or — +) would

FIGURE 20.—DEVIATION EXPECTANCY FIELD

y

MA +
DP —

Emotionally
Endangered

MA +
DP +
High Risks—
Emotionally and
Environmentally
Endangered

MA —
DP —

Low Risks

MA —
DP +

Environmentally
Endangered

Maladjustment Axis

O   —   +   *X*

Deviation-Pressure Axis
A Possible Predictive Instrument

By developing numerical rating scales for the horizontal Deviation-Pressure Axis to be used in conjunction with existing instruments such as the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Rating Scale and similar devices applicable to the vertical Maladjustment Axis, it should be possible to develop the Deviation Expectancy Field as a device for measuring the probability of deviant behavior in individual cases and the probable incidence of such behavior in groups.

land in between in the "emotionally endangered" or "environmentally endangered" areas.

KINDS OF DEVIATION PRESSURES

We have included two kinds of environmental conditions or situations in our definition of a deviation pressure: (1) anything

that frustrates or blocks the satisfaction of a normal need, and (2) any external stimulus toward a departure from the cultural norm of behavior necessary for the satisfaction of such a need.

We have already listed normal needs as physical, emotional, skill-needs, and needs of direction or orientation.

What environmental conditions or situations block or deviate satisfaction of such needs?[8]

Broadly speaking, six areas, or loci, of deviation pressures deserve special attention: (1) *Deviant homes*; (2) *culture-conflict areas*; (3) *sub-standard areas*; (4) *delinquency-tradition areas*; (5) the *street trades,* and *domestic service*; and (6) certain forms of *commercialized recreation.*

1. *Deviant Homes.*—Every culture produces certain norms for home life. In the United States the so-called normal home may tentatively be said to be characterized by seven fairly definite criteria: structural completeness; racial homogeneity; economic security; cultural conformity; moral conformity; physical and psychological normality; and functional adequacy.

Structural completeness means the presence of both natural parents in the home. At any given time this is probably characteristic of from 70 to 85 per cent of the homes of a community. Racial homogeneity, or identity of race (color) on the part of husband, wife, and children is a cultural norm for American homes. Departure from that norm invariably creates deviation pressures which affect behavior. Mixed marriages are rarely successful from the point of view of the children.

Economic security is the reasonable stability of income adequate to maintain health, working efficiency, and morale. With considerable variations from time to time and from place to place due to peculiarities in the distribution of wealth and the stability of business processes, probably 33 to 50 per cent of American families enjoy such economic security.[9] The fact that from

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[8] We have already pointed out that blockages may occur because of environmental conditions, because of personal defects or shortcomings, or because of internal conflicts. We are here concerned only with the environmental conditions, including attitudes of other people.

[9] A government survey, four years in the making and reported in 1940, shows that in 1935-36 two-thirds of all American families lived on an average of $69 a month, or $828 a year. Four million families, mostly on relief, averaged only $312 a year. Forty-two per cent of the nation lived on incomes averaging less than $600 a year. The survey, made by the Bureau of Labor

66 to 50 per cent do not, and that possibly one-third or more are in actual poverty, is a serious weakness in the American social system and a definite deviation pressure for millions of children reared under such conditions. The fact that the great majority of the children of the poor, like the great majority of the children from broken homes, do *not* become delinquent does not alter the fact that both conditions are distinct handicaps on normal adjustment.

Cultural conformity means that the parents speak the same language, eat the same foods, observe the same customs, have about the same number of children, and hold substantially the same attitudes as the social world to which their children are exposed. That social world itself may be non-conforming to American culture at large, but that is a problem not of the deviant home but of the culture-conflict, or deviant, neighborhood.

Moral conformity is perhaps self-explanatory. But again we should note that it is conformity to the mores *of the child's social world immediately about the home,* moral conformity to the mores of the neighborhood. If that neighborhood deviates from the moral standards of American society in general, we have the broader problem of the delinquency-tradition neighborhood.

Physical and psychological normality are usually taken for granted in speaking of any normal home. Certainly a home that contains a chronic invalid or a feeble-minded person or a paranoid personality would hardly be called normal. Such a home would exert a definite deviation pressure on the behavior of its children.

Functional adequacy is the characteristic of the normal home that is hardest to define. It refers to the fact that the people in such a home carry on the process of interaction among themselves with a minimum of friction and a minimum of emotional frustration. In a functionally adequate home there is a minimum of

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Statistics, the Bureau of Home Economics, and the W.P.A., covered a sample of 300,000 families.

In March, 1939, "7 million households, nearly 22 million persons, and 8 or 9 million children," received public assistance or earnings on Federal work projects. "That was about one person in every six of the total population. . . . The children in these families are about one-fourth of all the children under 16 in the country " *Preliminary Statements submitted to the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy,* Washington, 1940, pp. 28-29.

parental rejection; a minimum of sibling rivalry; a minimum of inculcation of inferiority, escape from reality, self-pity, or any of the other attitudes that cripple and thwart the growing personality. A functionally adequate home encourages growth, confidence, frankness, respect for personality, ability to face reality. In short, a functionally adequate home is *an emotionally healthy home.*

In so far as any home departs from any of these characteristics—structural completeness, racial homogeneity, economic security, cultural conformity, moral conformity, physical and psychological normality, and functional adequacy—to that extent it is a deviant home and a center of definite deviation pressures. If it departs widely from all six of these norms it is a widely deviant home, and the deviation pressures are obviously more intense. Nobody knows the number of deviant homes in the United States, to say nothing of knowing the number of deviation pressures in each home and the extent, direction, intensity, and continuity of each pressure. When that information is available in particular communities we shall have the basis for building real prevention programs.

In the meantime, however, one study of 46 families in Ann Arbor, Michigan, analyzed from this point of view, revealed that while the group as a whole had 8.2 deviations per family and 3.7 different kinds of deviations per family, 12 homes that had produced *delinquents* averaged 12.1 deviations per family, or 46.5 per cent *more* than the group average; 20 homes of *maladjusted non-delinquents* averaged 8.5 deviations per family, or 3.5 per cent *more* than the group average; and 14 homes of *well-adjusted boys*, who happened to be included in the study for other reasons, averaged only 3.8 deviations per home, or 53.6 per cent *less* than the average.

"In the same way, the delinquents show 40.5 per cent more different kinds of deviations per family than does the group as a whole, whereas the well-adjusted cases show 35.1 per cent fewer."[10]

2. *Culture-conflict Areas.*—In many cities culture enclaves of foreign-born, of southern-whites, or of Negroes create commu-

[10] Carr, Valentine, and Levy, *Integrating the Camp, the Community and Social Work,* New York, 1939, pp. 59-60.

FIGURE 21.—"WHERE'LL WE GO NOW?"
Boys' Gang in Substandard Area of Detroit's East Side on the March—
the Everyday Routine of Finding Something to Do

Courtesy *The Michigan Education Journal*

Not a Playground or a Boys' Club Within Gunshot

This little group is merely one of hundreds of similar boys' gangs in a big city, innocent enough in themselves at the beginning, but thrown on their own to grow up in a world of prostitutes, dopers, racketeers, shady business.

nities within communities. The consequences on the behavior of children who are exposed to the conflicting demands of the parental community and the larger community are often serious.

For example, in a suburb of Detroit a few years ago a study of 250 Hungarian children, who had been arrested for pilfering coal from the railroad tracks, revealed the fact that these youngsters had been sent out to steal by their parents, and that coal-stealing from the railroad cars was regarded by practically the entire Hungarian colony as a legitimate, if not a laudable, enterprise. In fact the governing body of a local church had arranged regularly with boys in the neighborhood to obtain its coal supply in this way. Nobody in the colony regarded this as theft.

"In Hungary," they explained, "the peasants had the right to take fuel from the landlord's estate. This coal on the railroad cars is just like the wood in the great forests of Hungary—there is more than anybody wants and nobody seems to own it. Why shouldn't we have what we need?"

Thus, children in the colony were constantly exposed to differing definitions of the nature of private property. Their parents and the rest of the Hungarian community gave them one definition; the public schools, the police, the American newspapers, and the customs of the larger community gave them another. There is no question that from the point of view of the larger community such a culture-conflict situation is a deviation pressure.

3. *Sub-standard Areas.*—Human ecologists have long made us familiar with the fact that around the business centers of every growing city blighted areas tend to develop. These are areas of *deterioration* and *deficiency*—areas of deterioration of physical and social *structures* and deficiency of leadership and institutional functioning. Such areas tend to become in a sense social cesspools into which drain the dregs of the community. Naturally by selection, segregation, and self-infection such areas develop many centers of deviation pressure—cheap poolrooms, liquor joints, cheap movies, houses of prostitution, gambling joints, gang hang-outs, and all the rest.

Less adequately described are the low-rent or unrestricted subdivisions familiar on the outskirts of growing cities. In many ways the unorganized fringe of a city may contain just as definite de-

viation-pressure spots as the blighted areas, although naturally in less highly concentrated form. But the shady dance hall, the "fast" liquor clubs, and the sporty gambling houses thrive in such twilight zones between urban police authority and rural indifference. And just as in the blighted area leadership and institutional functioning are weak, so in the unorganized fringe the lack of community spirit, the inadequacy of existing organization, and the low standard of living of many such settlements all combine to prevent or retard the growth of the needed educational, religious, recreational, and control agencies.[11] Hence, blighted areas and unorganized fringes constitute definite substandard areas, centers of many deviation pressures. How many such areas there are in or about any community and how the number, variety, continuity, direction, and intensity of the deviation pressures in each compare is a subject on which little scientific information is available.

4. *Delinquency-tradition Areas.*—A deviation pressure of a distinct and highly important kind is a specific tradition of delinquency such as Shaw found in certain areas in Chicago. In such areas, stripping cars and going robbing (in the Five-and-Tens, etc.) were as much neighborhood games as were baseball or kite-flying in more respectable sections. In such areas when a boy emerges from his overcrowded tenement bedroom in the morning the first suggestion (pressure) of the day is quite likely to be a challenge from some member of the gang to go brass-lifting in the railroad yards or cop-chasing in the alleys.

Such traditions are handed down from one generation of young hoodlums to another. The individual is helpless. If he is to live outside his home at all, he must come to terms with the boys in his neighborhood, and the terms are the terms of the gang. Yet as Thrasher and others have shown, there is nothing inherently vicious in a boys' gang. The gang itself is simply an expression of the boy's need of association and activity at a certain stage of his life. What makes the gang dangerous is adult neglect and the deviation pressures of a great city.

[11] For vivid descriptions of the spread of prostitution and other criminal activities into such areas, see Courtney Ryley Cooper, *Designs in Scarlet,* Boston, 1939.

Delinquency traditions, which gangs develop under certain conditions and hand down from generation to generation, thus become potent deviation pressures for millions of American children. Former President Hoover advocating the enlargement of the program of the Boys' Club of America, Inc., has estimated that there are at least 3,000,000 boys whose playground is the street and who are therefore either already carriers of delinquency traditions or in imminent danger of acquiring such traditions.

5. *The Street Trades and Domestic Service.*—One of the romantic stereotypes of the success myth of American life is the "little business man" newsboy. Unfortunately, the average street newsboy never does become a business man and he actually runs afoul of the law far more frequently than the non-working child. The carrier newsboy, especially in the small town, is quite a different story. But since the great majority of city newsboys are street salesmen and since it is the deviation pressures of the street trades that here concern us, we shall confine our discussion to these.

The street trades include street vendors, errand and delivery boys, messenger boys, and street newsboys. If we also include young girls working as waitresses and housemaids, there were in 1938 probably 250,000 children under sixteen in the street trades and in domestic service in the United States.[12] Domestic service constitutes an occupation of high moral risk for girls. The street trades affect many boys. The decision of the Supreme Court in 1939 that newsboys who do not go to a central printing plant to receive their papers are not included under the prohibitions of the Child Labor Act did nothing to reduce the risks of child labor. Most newsboys, of course, do nothing of the kind.

The conditions under which children in the street trades and

[12] In 1930 children 10 to 16 reported gainfully employed numbered 667,118, or approximately 5 per cent of the total population of these ages. "It is generally recognized, however, that these census figures were an understatement of the extent of child labor even in 1930 when the industrial depression had reduced employment opportunities for all workers." *Preliminary Statements submitted to the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy,* Washington, 1940, p. 147. About three-quarters of all child workers are in agriculture.

in domestic service work make deviant behavior an easily under-
standable result. Errand and delivery boys, for example, have
irregular work with demoralizing associates and are given many
more chances to steal than would come the way of a non-working
child. Messenger boys in many cities work unreasonably long
hours and cannot escape frequent and demoralizing contacts
with the underworld. Although carrier newsboys frequently
come from good homes and offer few problems, street newsboys
work late hours and associate not infrequently with bums, dopers,
and other shady characters. They are exposed to various pres-
sures of example and opportunity. Gambling, idleness, dishon-
esty and sex perversion are all too prevalent in the street workers'
environment.

As for girls in domestic service, they are exposed not only to
the exploitation incident to a poorly standardized, weak-bargain-
ing occupation and to the moral risks of unprincipled male em-
ployers but, perhaps most important of all, to the moral risks
that surround the cheaper types of commercialized recreation
places which such workers frequent during leisure hours.

From such conditions it is easy to understand why from three
to ten times as many children in the street trades and domestic
service as among non-working children become delinquent each
year.

*There is no reason to believe that it is home conditions, pov-
erty, or any deviation pressures other than those connected with
occupational conditions themselves that produce these results.* A
United States Department of Labor study of 4839 delinquents in
the juvenile courts of Indianapolis, Baltimore, New York, Bos-
ton, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh in 1911 found that the delin-
quent child-workers came from good homes practically as often
as non-working children. Good homes appeared in the back-
grounds of the following percentages of delinquent child workers:

Street vendors.. .... 65 0
Newsboys and bootblacks......... 75.8
Delivery and errand boys......... 78.9
Messenger boys..... .... 78.9

Sullenger's study of 119 newsboys in Omaha in 1931 also bears
this out. All the data of many studies in Buffalo, Omaha, Detroit,
and the cities studied by the Children's Bureau point to the

existence of definite deviation pressures in the street trades to which non-working children are not exposed. Hence the conclusion that the street trades constitute definite areas of deviation pressure. Statistics of delinquency and illegitimacy among young domestic servants indicate the same thing for domestic service.

6. *Commercialized Amusements.*—The type of deviation pressure exerted by commercialized amusements will vary somewhat from community to community, depending on the mores, the pressure for exploitation, the activity of control groups, and the like. In most communities the main centers of deviation pressure in commercialized recreation are ordinarily regarded as the movies, dance halls, road houses, salacious literature, houses of prostitution, poolrooms, and the radio. In a general way, the issue with every one of these is the degree of immediate satisfaction that a culture will tolerate or encourage as against the amount of deferred satisfaction that it demands. In one sense, civilization is nothing more than an organized system of roundabout methods of satisfying fundamental biological urges. Of course there are all sorts of variations of immediateness as between different individuals and different needs. But the point is, the organized cooperation which we call society breaks down the moment direct satisfaction of needs predominates over roundabout satisfactions. We could all loaf a few days a year, a few of us can and do loaf all year, but all of us couldn't possibly loaf all year and have anything to eat at the end. Practically all anti-social behavior portrayed in the movies, broadcast on the air, and actually exploited in places of commercialized amusements is behavior that gets its "kick" by short-circuiting the accepted patterns. The stick-up man, the prostitute, the racketeer are all trying to get by on short-cuts. And it is the portrayal or the purveying of these short-cut satisfactions that raises a problem in social control. How much "holding of the mirror up to life" can a society stand without dangerous weakening of its belief in the normal roundabout satisfaction patterns? In order to control life intelligently, we need to know reality no matter how unpleasant. Hence the case for realism. But in order to maintain the roundaboutness of satisfactions which is civilization we also need to *believe* in that roundaboutness; and in order to

maintain that belief we dare not let the suggestions of short-cuts predominate too often or too intensely.

Hence the case for censorship and regulation, especially when we are dealing with pure exploitation. Both realism and censorship are "right," i.e., useful, up to a point. The question in any particular community is always, "In order to have a community that will produce a maximum of lasting satisfactions, what do we need here now—to know more of the ugly facts of life or to decrease the relative weight of deviation pressures?" There is no formula for answering that question except intelligence, social insight, good emotional adjustment, and honesty of purpose. Unfortunately, true artists, well-meaning people, and selfish exploiters alike can seldom reach an objective answer. Hence the unending controversy over censorship of the movies, regulation of gambling, control of prostitution, and the like.

Such issues are further complicated by the fact that a community must control the deviation pressures affecting children much more narrowly than it controls those affecting adults. Yet adults and children alike may be exposed to the same situations. In most cities children attend the same movies that adults attend. Children of fourteen or fifteen are allowed to drive cars and go about unchaperoned. Children and adults alike inhabit the same slums and may even patronize many of the same "dine and dance" road houses.[13]

The problem broadens when we remember that there are probably ten million grown Americans with child-minds. How temper the movie to the shorn moron? Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights are inadequate guides to an intelligent answer. Obviously it is hardly realistic to invoke the great tradition of civic rights and personal liberty for normal people in order to justify the commercial exploitation of the physically immature or the mentally handicapped. But it is equally indefensible to deny healthy, normal adults access even to dubious art on the inadequate ground that children might be harmed. If a book, a play, or a picture is unfit for child-minds, the obvious remedy is to see that child-minds are not exposed to it. It is just as dishonest to use the peril to childhood as an excuse for needless censorship as to use the Bill of Rights as a protection for exploitation. What

[13] For evidence that many road houses and tourist camps are merely fronts for prostitution, see *Designs in Scarlet*.

seems to be needed is more honesty of purpose and intelligent administration.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What value does a gossip area have in the control of behavior? What principles of social control are involved?
2. What were some of the factors making for more conformity of behavior in American communities 100 years ago?
3. What inconsistencies were there in the application of the old theory of punishment to children? In what respect is modern treatment of children equally inconsistent?
4. What is a behavior norm?
5. Define folkways, mores. Point out characteristics of likeness and difference in these concepts.
6. What is the J-curve hypothesis?
7. Why non-conformity to any behavior norm?
8. What is the relationship of individual differences to social control?
9. What is a deviation pressure?
10. How do deviation pressures vary? Cite examples of such variation.
11. What is a cultural margin?
12. Explain the concept of deviation expectancy. What would be the two components of a deviation expectancy index?
13. What areas of deviation pressures have been distinguished?
14. What are the characteristics of a normal home?
15. What evidence can you cite to show the relationship between the deviant home and deviant behavior?
16. What is a culture-conflict area?
17. What are the characteristics of a sub-standard area?
18. What is the importance of delinquency-tradition areas?
19. Why are the street trades and domestic service "deviation-pressure occupations"?
20. What would you say to the argument that "such occupations do not produce the delinquents; it's the delinquents who flock into those occupations"?
21. How is the problem of commercialized amusement related to delinquency control?
22. Explain the concept of civilization as a system of roundabout satisfactions.
23. How does this bear on the question of controlling prostitution in tourist camps and on the censorship of the movies?
24. How is civil liberty involved in the question of delinquency control?

Chapter VI

Maladjustments in Culture

SCIENCE VS. TRADITION

As many thinkers have been saying for a long time, the funda-
mental disability of western culture in the twentieth century is
the growing conflict between science and technology, on the one
hand, and tradition, on the other. Harry Elmer Barnes puts it
clearly enough:

> We have a thoroughly up-to-date material culture, diverse, and po-
> tentially efficient beyond that of any earlier age. On the other hand, the
> institutions and the social thinking through which we seek to control
> and exploit this material culture are an antiquated mosaic, compounded
> of accretions from the stone age to the close of the eighteenth century.
> . . . Not only does this vast gulf exist between material culture on the
> one hand, and social thinking and institutions on the other, but we
> are constantly widening the abyss. We use almost every imaginable
> incentive to extend our material culture. Scientific prizes, patent royal-
> ties, industrial profits, social prestige, and every conceivable reward are
> offered to those who will provide us with better machines and more
> convenient gadgets. At the same time we set every possible obstacle in
> the way of those who seek to improve our antiquated institutional
> machinery.[1]

CONTEMPORARY CONFUSIONS

Consider some of the confusions that afflict us in the United
States.

1. The dignity and value of the individual human personality,
which is exalted by the great ethical religions, art, literature, the
theory of democracy, are belittled and denied by modern industry,
totalitarianism, war.

2. A productive technology, a physical equipment, and nat-

[1] Harry Elmer Barnes, in *Tomorrow in the Making*, edited by John N.
Andrews and Carl A. Marsden, New York, 1939, pp. 9, 16-17. Reprinted by
permission of the publisher, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

ural resources capable of feeding, clothing, and housing everyone in the United States on the level of decency and comfort work with a distributive technology so antiquated that one-third of our workers are in poverty, one-third are underhoused, nearly one-fifth are unemployed—while the government pays farmers *not* to produce and destroys "surplus" hogs!

3. A scientific technology that in industry after industry *makes scarcity unnecessary* functions in a price-controlled economy that *depends on scarcity* to keep prices high enough to motivate employers to produce!

4. Insecurities and inadequacies of the wage status contrast grimly with the relative securities and comforts of the professional and property-income status.

5. "Children concentrated in those families which have the least resources with which to provide for their children"— White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, 1940. The next generation coming predominantly from rural homes, the poor, the foreign-born; city populations and urban white women of income level $3,000 and up *not replacing themselves! The nation's farmers supporting 31 percent of the nation's children on 9 percent of the nation's income.*

6. Education is still widely regarded as mainly purveyed from books to juveniles, not as a continuing experience vitally necessary for all ages in a changing world. And it is still permitted to vary enormously in quality as well as quantity between rural areas and urban areas, between wealthy states and poor states. In 25 states the counties with the highest number of children per 1000 adults stand lowest or next to lowest in plane of living within the state, and in 21 states the counties with the fewest children per 1000 adults rank highest in plane of living. In some states with twice as many children 5 to 17 as in other states in proportion to adults 20 to 64, income per child of school age is one-fifth that in wealthier states. What becomes of "equality of opportunity" under such conditions?

7. "Emotional education," or mental hygiene, is still a frill, an incidental, or an accident; nowhere is it looked upon as equal in importance to "intellectual" subjects such as arithmetic. And nowhere is it systematically provided for the millions of maladjusted adults out of school.

8. Science is daily increasing man's power; traditional greeds, animosities, conflicts are daily making more certain that this increasing power will be used for greater destruction, not peaceful cooperation and production.

9. Social problems like these are still regarded as "solvable" by social action based on common sense alone; the scientific technology, which is mainly responsible for the problems in the first place and presents a very different pattern of pattern-solving itself, goes largely unapplied.

Is Culture Rational?

Facing such inconsistencies one may well ask to what extent is culture rational? To what extent can the rôle of the nonrational and the irrational be reduced? Can the irrational, in fact, be kept from riding the rational (science and technology) to some ultimate catastrophe? One of the distinctive things about modern western culture is that larger and larger areas of life have gradually been preempted by activities rationally conceived and directed, in place of the tradition-dominated ways of older cultures. Yet important areas of life are still dominated by nonrational traditions. For example, economic inadequacies affecting children are rooted in the traditional insufficiencies of the old rural culture. This seems to be the case in such matters as the tremendous inequalities between families and in the notoriously backward school systems of most rural areas. Other inadequacies grow out of the discrepancies between rationally conceived activities and the old traditional activities, as one finds in the conflict between scarcity-banishing inventions and a scarcity-based price system mentioned above.

Oddly enough, as these inconsistencies have emerged and grown more acute in the declining years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, there has been among intellectuals a curious flare-up of old tendencies which Hogben has aptly called *The Retreat from Reason*. Thus, Nietzsche's doctrine of the assertion of the egotistic will, Freud's discovery of the dominant rôle of the emotions, and Bergson's belief in the superrational nature of reality all tended to put reason well in its place. Yet viewed in retrospect as insights which may in turn be utilized for rational ends, the work of Nietzsche, Freud, Bergson,

constitutes less a retreat from reason than a rectification of the lines that reason may perchance defend. It is the popularizers and political theoreticians like Hitler and Mussolini and their followers, who accept such teachings as ultimate, that actually retreat from reason. In the light of modern psychology and psychiatry it is easy enough to see now that the eighteenth century which gave us so many of the theories still (1940) dominating American legal and political thinking erred on the side of over-intellectualism. In actual life men are never the completely equal and completely rational beings that some political and economic thinkers a century and a half ago conceived them to be. The moron and the unconscious cannot be laughed off. But to give formidable new names to old phenomena does not essentially change the nature of the phenomena; it merely makes it more possible to understand and ultimately to control the phenomena. The great disservice of the eighteenth century was to create the myth that man's social world is inherently simple and profoundly rational.

The Retreat from Reason

It was the function of the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century philosophers, psychologists, and clinicians to dispel that myth. But unfortunately the disillusionment proved too great for the first World War generation. All sorts of escapes and regressions followed. The revival of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's may be viewed as an effort of simple folk to stand together against the complexities and uncertainties of a world teeming with foreigners, Jews, Catholics, and men of darker skin. From one point of view, at least, fascism in both Italy and Germany seems to have started as a comparatively simple way out of overwhelming complexities—you simply turned your problems over to the "leader" and knocked the opposition on the head!

For those who can stand uncertainty and complexity, the fact might as well be stated: never again in our generation is life likely to seem simple; and as for the rationality of it, that would seem, in a measure, to be for men themselves to determine. The odds against extending the scope of intelligent purpose in the world have always been tremendous. They are probably no less today than they have ever been. But it is hardly the part of sons and daughters of pioneers to quit a fight merely because they do

not happen to be top dogs at the start. Too much of the litera-
ture of social pessimism of the post-war years drips self-pity.

BUT THE TASK REMAINS

The good life will never be ready-made. As the history of nat-
ural science has shown, the non-rational and the irrational are
too deeply woven into the texture of the universe for anyone to
expect easy victories. It is even quite probable that irrationality
will destroy the present cycle of civilization within a few genera-
tions, as factors beyond man's conscious control destroyed every
other civilization in the past. But that does not change the prob-
lem or free intelligence from its task. We are committed to the
effort to increase the scope of man's control over the conditions
of his life and only as we understand those conditions can we
hope to succeed.

To hope that such control, if and when it is advanced, will
be used to further the good life for all rather than the good life
for a few is a matter of faith.

In a confused and changing culture everyone must think
through to fundamental values and govern his life accordingly.
Thus, in this book the value that is taken for granted is the
unique worth of every individual personality and the consequent
need of creating a social system which by and large and in the
long run will enhance personality values and utilize man's in-
creasing material power for greater individual happiness.

The measure of our failure to date may be read in the head-
lines on the second Great War in Europe and in the statistics of
unemployment in the United States on page 125.

SO WHAT?

War, unemployment, and poverty are the three great failures
of our culture. Next to them stands crime, and it is with the
control of this through the control of juvenile delinquency that
we are here concerned. But the future of unemployment, pov-
erty, and war may well determine the outcome of any attack on
crime in the United States. Many philosophers of history such
as Marx, Spengler, and others regard the trends of cultural de-
velopment as beyond any human control. This is as tenable a
hypothesis as any other. On the face of it, however, the evidence

YIELD OR FACE RUIN, HITLER'S THREAT; LONDON IS SCORNFUL OF HIS DEMANDS; ITALIAN CRUISER SUNK; WIDE AIR RAIDS

EXTREMIST REGIME FEARED AT PARIS

Observer Sees Race Between
Fascists and Communists
to Follow Petain

VICHY RULE IS CRITICIZED

Demand Voiced for 'New Men'
—French Banks Open
Under the Germans

FRENCH VOICE DOUBTS OF BRITISH SEA RULE

General Says Invasion Success
Hinges on Landing Zones

Percentages of all Families Re-
ceiving Old Age Assistance,
E.R.A. Relief and Federal
Relief in Michigan

JUNE, 1939

	Types of Counties	%
7	Lumber and fishing counties..	54.5
4	Mining counties............	52.9
12	Cut-over counties..........	43.5
12	Secondary agricultural......	29.4
10	Major Industrial excl. of Wayne.................	26.3
24	Minor Industrial...........	24.0
1	Wayne county.............	20.4
13	Primary agricultural coun- ties....................	18.5
83	Total state...............	24.4

—Public Assistance in Michigan
April–June, 1939

for any such hypothesis must all be drawn from cultures in which culture itself had never become an object of scientific interest, and therefore the possibility of controlling it has stood on much the same level as the possibility of controlling disease before the rise even of ancient medicine. Such "evidence" can *prove* nothing; it can only show what has happened in the past under *different* conditions, and suggest what may very well happen in the future *if we continue to approach the problem as the ancient Athenians and Romans approached it and as contemporary leaders have approached it up to now.*

There would, in fact, seem to be three possibilities with reference to the intelligent control of culture. Such trends may be uncontrollable, as so many anthropologists and philosophers of history contend. They may be controllable only in terms of sciences and technologies that it will take centuries more to develop—perhaps in another civilization. Or they may be controllable with the sciences and technologies that today exist in our civilization *if those sciences and technologies could only be applied to the problems needing solution.*

Nobody today knows the answer. It depends largely on one's temperament, one's thirst for excitement, delight in horror, and so on, whether one prefers to go in for defeatism and various forms of escape, or whether one prefers to do what he can with the tools at hand in the knowledge that he may nevertheless be wasting his time. If Nero did fiddle while Rome burned, social scientists and social technicians also have the chance to fiddle— with their own culture—till the barbarians come!

One thing seems to be fairly clear from the massive evidence from the past: fiddling may not stop the barbarians, but it may help to dramatize the problem!

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What does Harry Elmer Barnes regard as the basic maladjustment in our culture?
2. List some contemporary confusions or contradictions.
3. What do you understand by a scientific technology that tends to make scarcity unnecessary? Why is this a source of confusion?
4. Is peaceful cooperation and production possible on any other basis than what one regards as fair or just?

5. In 1940 the United States and the British Empire controlled about 75 per cent of the mineral wealth of the globe. If you were not an American or a subject of the British Empire how would you probably regard the "justice" or "fairness" of that?

6. In the light of your answers to 4 and 5 what can you say about the prospect of peace in the world?

7. What pattern for the solution of social problems is there beyond "discussion, agitation, voting"?

8. Explain the term "retreat from reason."

9. Explain "the work of Nietzsche, Freud, Bergson constitutes less a retreat from reason than a rectification of the lines that reason may perchance defend."

10. How can the Klan and fascism be viewed as "escapes" from a too-complex world?

11. Why call attention to war and unemployment in a book on delinquency control?

12. What are the three possibilities with reference to the intelligent control of cultural change?

PART III

THE TECHNOLOGY OF CONTROL

Chapter VII

Finding the Children Who Need Help

CONTROL TECHNOLOGIES

Techniques for the control of juvenile deviant behavior may be grouped under four heads:

1. Techniques for the *discovery* of deviant individuals.

2. Techniques for the *diagnosis* of individual deviation problems.

3. Techniques for the *treatment* of such problems.

4. Techniques for *prevention,* i.e., for (a) removing or controlling deviation pressures, (b) introducing positive factors into the environment, and/or (c) improving the hereditary qualities of the population.

Most people approach the problem of delinquency control not from the point of view of any or all of these techniques but from an interest in children—individual children or groups of children. It will, therefore, be clearer if we carry on our discussion of the technology of control from this point on not in terms of techniques but in terms of the children who need help. This will necessarily involve a certain amount of repetition. Every child who needs help can be helped *by others* only through discovery, diagnosis, and treatment.[1] But it will be more convenient to focus attention on the children and to relate each type of technique to the particular problems of each type of child.

WHAT CHILDREN NEED HELP?

We have seen that to produce a socially adjusted individual four types of needs must be met: physical needs, emotional needs,

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[1] Note the qualification. A great number of the maladjusted children of any given generation work out their own conflicts and problems without attracting more than repressive attention from the agencies of social control. The whole problem of why the amount of maladjustment that rises above the "nuisance threshold" of a community isn't larger than it is still awaits analysis by sociologists, social workers, and psychiatrists.

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social and vocational skill-needs, and the need for social orientation or guidance. Where in general are these needs not being met? Mainly among three types of children:

1. *Delinquents*—children in conflict with the law: (a) Parolees from juvenile correctional schools; and (b) probationers under treatment in their own communities.[2]

2. *Behavior-problem cases*—children in trouble.

3. *Children in danger,* i.e., exposed to the deviation pressures enumerated in Chapter V.

While these classifications are not mutually exclusive, it is obvious that they represent a rough scale of *decreasing* anti-social expectancy, on the one hand, and of *increasing* population coverage, on the other. *Yet all three classes of children are higher-than-average anti-social risks.*

The task of delinquency control, therefore, is to focus on *these* children the necessary techniques of *discovery, diagnosis, treatment,* and *prevention early enough in their lives* and *widely enough in their communities* to reduce the expectancy of deviant behavior. How many such children are there in the United States and where may we expect to find them?

HOW MANY NEED HELP?

Let us follow the same order of *decreasing* anti-social expectancy and *increasing* coverage. From this point of view correctional school graduates, while relatively fewest in number, probably represent the highest anti-social expectancy per 1000; probationers probably rank second, problem children in general come third, and children in danger but still free of behavior problems or actual law violations would rank fourth.

1. *Delinquents:* (a) *Parolees.*—From 65 courts reporting to the United States Children's Bureau for 1929-34, inclusive, the number of commitments to institutions averaged about 11.0 per cent of all delinquency cases reported, or about 9.9 per cent for the boys and 17.1 per cent for the girls.[3] There is some evidence that smaller courts make institutional commitments more extensively

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[2] Children undergoing other forms of treatment omitted. Comparatively few courts make extensive use of foster home placement, for example.

[3] *Juvenile Court Statistics, Year Ended December 31, 1934,* United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 235, 1935, p. 50 Total boys' cases 44,909; total girls' cases 7629.

than do the larger courts which have more adequate probation systems and other facilities. Hence it is not surprising to find that the number (28,770) of delinquents reported in public institutions December 31, 1933, approximates 14.3 per cent of the estimated total (200,000) handled by the courts on delinquency charges that year. If to this is added evidence from Bowler and Bloodgood's study of the *Institutional Treatment of Delinquent Boys* in five typical state institutions and evidence from a study of 130 boys paroled from a Michigan correctional school, all tending to show that the average stay of a correctional school boy is about one year, the inference emerges that there are probably from 25,000 to 30,000 correctional school graduates in the United States at any given time with a comparatively recent reformatory experience behind them.[4] In other words, over a five-year period there are probably from 125,000 to 150,000 correctional school graduates who have returned to their communities and who, if the Gluecks and other authorities are correct, are contributing more than their proportionate share of the country's criminals. Obviously, therefore, any program for the reduction of delinquency finds in these correctional school graduates an emergency target ready-made and big enough to shoot at. One hundred twenty-five thousand boys and girls are equivalent to over nine regular army divisions, or one city the size of Trenton, New Jersey, or Spokane, Washington.

Delinquents: (b) *Probationers.*—Children kept in their own community for treatment after having been adjudged delinquent are usually placed on probation. Theoretically this should mean that the probation officer is a case worker who analyzes each case, works out a definite plan of treatment, and by utilizing every available community resource helps the child reach a solution. Actually, this happens in not more than a handful of the 3070 counties in the United States. Even in some of the large cities that boast of formidable-looking probation departments actual case work is a rarity. What takes its place is a routinized kind of supervision and reporting, or in the smaller places nothing at all until the child again runs afoul of the law.

Now for many youngsters this system of neglect is probably

[4] Children's Bureau, Publication No. 228; and L. J. Carr, *What's Wrong with Probation and Parole in Michigan?* 1936.

beneficial; at least it does them no harm. Their court experience alone has been sufficient to bring them up with a jolt. Case work for such youngsters would merely be a waste of time. Another group of delinquents consists of those who *should* have been sent to an institution but have actually been given "another chance"—one too many. They represent mistakes in disposition of the cases—youngsters who are so badly maladjusted that no amount of ordinary case work could pull them out of it. For them also case work would be a waste of time. But between these two extremes there is a third group: the delinquents who *need* case work treatment and *could profit from it.* These are the cases that should be placed on probation. One of the basic problems of every juvenile court is to select *these* cases *and no others* for this kind of treatment. Unfortunately nobody really knows in advance as a child faces the judge whether he or she can come through without case supervision, whether the child can come through only if given this supervision, or whether the youngster is already so far gone that nothing short of institutional commitment offers any hope at all. Every judge has to make the best decision he can in the light of the information available, his own knowledge of children, and his philosophy of life. The mistakes are probably numerous, and these plus the prevailing inefficiency of case supervision make it inevitable that a higher percentage of these children than of average children of the same age and social class go on to break the law. Because they are usually younger than correctional graduates, brighter, have escaped institutionalization, and probably come from somewhat more adequate families, probationers probably do not have the delinquency rate that parolees have. But they are worse than average non-court children because they have already broken the law—over one-seventh of them more than once—and the conditions that produced their maladjustment are all too frequently left uncorrected. The children who need probationary supervision and the probationers who should have been institutionalized are thus obviously higher-than-average risks. What percentage they form of all cases placed on probation is unknown. But they are probably sufficiently numerous and their risk rate is sufficiently high to more than offset the probationers for whom

the court experience alone has been enough. The net result is a group of children under treatment—or what passes for treatment —in local communities all over the country with a delinquency expectancy decidedly higher than the average for youngsters of their age in the same social classes and the same communities.

How many such cases are there?

As usual the statistics are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. For the years 1929-34, 30 courts serving areas of 100,000 or more population reported to the Children's Bureau that out of 246,607 delinquency cases disposed of, 63,215, or 25.6 per cent, had been placed on probation. In 1937 53 courts reported having placed on probation 11,535 boys, or 29.5 per cent of such cases, and 1796 girls, or 26.8 per cent.[5] In a state like Michigan where juvenile courts handle from 5000 to 6000 delinquency cases a year, there are from 2700 to 3000 boys and girls on probation at any given time. This compares with from 600 to 800 correctional parolees under "supervision."

Unfortunately the use of probation differs among different courts and in different states, so that it is impossible from such figures to estimate the total number of children on probation in the United States. It is apparent, however, that their number must be several times that of the correctional school graduates which, as we have seen, probably approximates 25,000 to 30,000 a year. If one were to guess that 65,000 to 100,000 children were placed on probation each year, he would not be overstating the facts. Of these probationers it is safe to say that at least several times 1 per cent will reappear as delinquents next year. Thus, given present methods of selection and supervision, these 65,000 new probationers each year—equivalent to the population of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, or Utica, New York, constitute a standing menace with comparatively high delinquency expectancy. In the light of the known inefficiency of probation-selection, probation itself, and institutional treatment, the answer would seem to be not more correctional school commitments, but (a) *better selection* and (b) *better probation.*

2. *Children with Behavior Problems.*—The chief of the statis-

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[5] *Children in the Courts,* Children's Bureau, Publication No. 250, 1937, p. 31.

tical division of the United States Office of Education estimated
in September, 1937, that over 20,000,000 children would enroll
in the elementary schools of the nation that year and about
4,000,000 in high schools. In 1930 the White House Conference
estimated that there were 675,000 children under 18 in the United
States with behavior problems.[6] Problem-child surveys in more
than 50 cities and many rural schools reveal that at any given
time teachers can spot from 2.4 to 19 per cent of their classes as
suffering from behavior maladjustments. Percentages vary from
school to school, depending partly on the techniques used, partly
on the defensiveness of the teachers, partly on the amount of
maladjustment present. But the evidence is overwhelming that
a great many children are in trouble. It is perhaps a fair approxi-
mation to say that 5 per cent of the school population at any
given time needs help in solving problems of adjustment—in
other words, in 1940 about 1,200,000 children.

What happens to these children when they do not get help?
Many of them become delinquent, criminal, or mental cases. Dr.
Willard G. Olson, director of research in child development,
University of Michigan Elementary School, Ann Arbor, has fol-
lowed the careers of some 4000 problem children in Minneapolis
for ten years. Dr. Olson says, "The group of boys in the highest
25 per cent of problem tendencies have supplied about 2.5 times
as many children to the juvenile court as would have been their
normal expectancy if the dice had not been loaded. The highest
7 per cent supplied seven times their quota of the children com-
mitted by the juvenile court to institutions!" In short (a) delin-
quent tendencies can be discovered in many children long before
these children would normally reach the juvenile court; and (b)
these tendencies, if left untreated, ultimately in a large percent-
age of cases lead to the juvenile court. Children with problems,
therefore, constitute a higher-than-average risk group which

[6] The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection reported
(1930) that of the 45 million children in America under 18 years of age:
200,000 are criminally delinquent; 300,000 are crippled; 400,000 are children
of divorced parents; 400,000 are homeless, vagrant boys; 342,000 are hard of
hearing; 382,000 are tubercular; 450,000 are mentally retarded; 500,000 are
dependent, 675,000 are "problem childen"; 1,000,000 have defects of speech;
1,000,000 have damaged hearts; and 1,000,000 are undernourished. Total,
7,149,000—but the amount of duplication is unknown. Many delinquents, for
example, have speech defects, etc.

taken in the aggregate exceeds the population of any one of sixteen states or the District of Columbia.[7]

3. *Children in High-risk Situations and Occupations.*—There are six types of situations which the experience of juvenile courts and social agencies for more than a generation has shown to be morally risky for children living in them. These situations occur, as we have said, in (a) deviant homes, including poverty homes; (b) culture-conflict areas; (c) sub-standard areas; (d) delinquency-tradition areas; (e) the street trades and domestic service; and (f) certain forms of commercialized recreation.

Perhaps it is unnecessary to repeat that such deviation-pressure situations do not in and of themselves "cause" delinquency. The great majority of all children from poverty homes, broken homes, culture-conflict areas, sub-standard areas, the street trades, and domestic service are never arrested as delinquents. Although it may be true that in certain urban areas where many varied deviation pressures operate simultaneously, intensely, continuously, and in a widely deviant direction on practically all the children in an area the percentage of anti-social behavior must far exceed the percentage of children apprehended, a certain amount of selection on the part of some individuals must still go on. Elsewhere the environmental pressures as we have already pointed out in Chapter V are seldom 100 per cent anti-social in every aspect of number, extent, variety, intensity, direction, and continuity.

Since many problem cases and actual delinquents come out of high-risk situations, allowance must be made here for some duplication.

Many cases referred to a visiting teacher, for example, are referred not as "problem cases" but because of "unsatisfactory home conditions."[8] What this means is what every social worker

[7] States with populations under 1,200,000 each were (as of July 1, 1936) Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Maine, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, and Wyoming. The District of Columbia had an estimated population of 619,000.

[8] For example, out of 2430 cases referred to visiting teachers in one city over a span of 14 years, 228 were for "unsatisfactory school work"; 213 for "atypical behavior"; and 229 for "unsatisfactory home conditions." Other causes including material aid accounted for the rest. Eunice Harkey, *Fourteen Years with the Visiting Teacher in Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1922-36*, unpublished Master's thesis, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, 1937.

knows, namely, that any high-risk situation usually contains more potentialities for trouble than are visible at any given moment. *Hence the need of focusing attention on conditions as well as on maladjusted individuals.*

Precisely here has been the weakness of many individual-adjustment approaches to delinquency prevention. Beyond dealing with particular disturbed family situations behind individual cases, many such programs have not attempted to go.

A basic attack on delinquency and behavior maladjustments in general must provide *both* an emergency service for behavior deviants *and* a fundamental bettering of economic and social conditions in families, neighborhoods, and communities—*ultimately, in our whole economic system.*

As a matter of fact, even a program so far-reaching as that would still leave untouched one entire class of causal factors—namely, biological factors.

Beyond the Present Generation

All competent students agree that the burden of biological incompetency is too great. The trouble, however, is to devise practicable measures for reducing it. The difficulties are partly scientific, partly technical, and partly socio-political. Human heredity is so complex that geneticists have not yet been able to determine the laws by which specific *desirable* traits may be made to appear by the mating of any two individuals. Even to control undesirable traits, although apparently somewhat clearer in theory, is terribly difficult in practice. That two feeble-minded individuals, for example, should not be allowed to marry and have children seems obvious. But since feeble-mindedness is a recessive trait and only a fraction of the hereditary mental defect latent in a given population actually appears at any given time, the practical problem is how to prevent the mating of apparently *normal* individuals who are, *relative to each other*, potentially the parents of feeble-minded children. Techniques for discovering the specific potentialities of the unborn children of apparently normal men and women have only begun to appear. Hence the great difficulty of controlling the bulk of the hereditary defects carried in the genes of the present generation.[9]

[9] See H. S. Jennings, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature,* who estimates that if all visibly feeble-minded individuals in the present generation were

By and large, on the positive side the best that can be hoped for in the immediate future would seem to be some increased awareness on the part of young people concerning the desirability of selecting mates who come from long-lived, cancer-free, intelligent, emotionally stable stock. And on the negative side, an increased awareness on the part of legislators, courts, and public opinion generally concerning the *undesirability* of permitting the feeble-minded, the epileptic, and the insane to have children. If these two tendencies can be strengthened, some check may be given to dysgenic matings.

How to encourage the sounder stocks to resist the sterilizing ·tendency of urbanization and social success, however, is a further socio-political problem of even greater immediate importance. It is notorious that statistically the next generation is coming predominantly from the rural areas, particularly from the southern and the southeastern parts of the United States; from the lower economic brackets everywhere; and from the families of fairly recent immigrants. While immigrant fertility is declining as the newcomers outgrow the child-bearing age and their children accept American patterns, the failure of the prosperous urban professional and business classes to replace themselves continues to complicate the future.

The immediate problem remains: What to do about the delinquent, maladjusted, and endangered children of *today?*

THE NEED OF ACTION NOW

Psychiatric, economic, and social solutions cannot afford to wait for any hypothetical 11-per-cent reduction in the feeble-mindedness of the next generation. The present problem is, How can we control the pressures of modern life so that the expectancy of maladjustment among the feeble-minded and other defectives

prevented from having offspring, the reduction in mental defects in the next generation would amount to about 11 per cent and considerably less after that. A beginning has been made in devising techniques for discovering carriers of certain recessive characteristics, namely, epilepsy. By using brain waves, electrically amplified, Dr. W. G. Lennox and Dr. and Mrs. Frederic Gibbs at Harvard can detect carriers of epilepsy, i.e., persons who may never have a seizure themselves but who may pass a potential disability on to their children. Brain waves of epileptics and epilepsy carriers vary distinctly from the normal. *New York Times,* August 11, 1940.

as well as among normal children can be reduced *now?* Again we come back to the necessity of focusing attention on high-risk *situations* as well as on high-risk *individuals.*

How Many Non-delinquent, Non-problem Children in Danger?

How many children *not* classifiable as parolees, probationers, or problem children are exposed to high-risk situations? Nobody knows. But we have already seen that the first three groups probably number at least 1,300,000. Various estimates place at least 7,500,000 children in poverty homes alone.

If we were to assume that all parolees, probationers, and problem cases came from poverty homes—a manifest absurdity—there would still be 6,200,000 *other* children in such homes. And over and above the poverty homes alone are the emotionally disturbed homes, the culture-conflict homes, the blighted-area homes, and homes immersed in a definite delinquency culture. It is very difficult to make a fair estimate of numbers here because so many cases belong in more than one category. A comfortable home that has as yet produced no delinquents or problem children may nevertheless be emotionally disturbed and expose its children to culture conflicts in a blighted area in the midst of a delinquency neighborhood. Such cases would represent, of course, a piling up of risk factors which would make it extremely unlikely that children brought up in such an environment could escape some form of maladjustment.

We do not know how many emotionally disturbed homes there are, nor for how long or to what degree they are disturbed. The statistics about broken homes mean very little. A home may be broken by death, as probably an eighth of our homes are, without necessarily making a child a delinquent, and it remains a fact that most of our actual delinquents continue to come from homes that are not broken at all. In 49,339 delinquency cases, for example, reported by 65 courts in 1934, 31,277, or 63 per cent, came from homes in which both natural parents were married and living together.[10] It is true that the percentage of delinquents from homes in which one or both parents had died was some-

[10] *Juvenile Court Statistics,* Children's Bureau, Publication No. 235, 1937, p. 44.

what larger (10,805, or 21 per cent) than the probable percentage of non-delinquents from such homes, but obviously the great majority of children from homes broken by death did not become delinquent, while the great majority of children who did become delinquent came from homes that had not been so broken, or broken in any other visible way. So the overt breaking of a home seems to be a poor index of emotional disturbance.

If the number of such homes is unknown, so also is the number of homes involved in culture conflicts. In 1930 there were more than 11,000,000 American-born children of foreign-born parents, but a considerable percentage of these were the children of nationality groups such as Germans, Danes, English, and the like, who were showing far less evidence of culture conflict than other groups, such as the Polish and southeastern Europeans. Until more intensive studies of culture conflict in different nationality groups on different economic levels in different cities are available, it will be impossible to estimate the number of non-poverty, non-delinquent, non-problem cases living under such conditions.

The same lack of information forestalls an accurate estimate of the number of children living in blighted areas or in delinquency cultures and not already included in one of these previous groups. At a guess one might say that 500,000 non-handicapped youngsters not previously classified are living in emotionally disturbed homes, in culture-conflict homes, in blighted areas, and in delinquency-tradition areas. Adding these to our 1,300,000 parolees, probationers, and problem cases, and our 6,200,000 unclassified children in poverty, we emerge with a grand total of 8,000,000 children out of 45,000,000, or 17.7 per cent. These 17.7 per cent, because of past behavior present problem tendencies, or because of environmental pressures, must be regarded as having a delinquency expectancy considerably above the average.

To these 8,000,000 should probably be added an unknown, unduplicated fraction of our 7,000,000 physical or mental defectives. If, therefore, we make our total "reservoir" of future delinquents, mental cases, and ne'er-do-wells a round 9,000,000, or 20 per cent of the child population under 18, we shall probably not overstate the facts. Probably somewhat more than half of these

are boys, thanks to the overplus of boys among the parolees and the probationers, and to the fact that problem boys are much more likely to get arrested as delinquents than are problem girls.[11] In any event, there are probably 9,000,000 boys and girls under 18 who will supply the 200,000 delinquents due to reach our juvenile courts next year—and the other hundreds of thousands who are to fill our prisons and mental hospitals a generation hence.

THE RATE OF SOCIAL BREAKDOWN

As a check on such a startling estimate consider for a moment the known rate of social breakdown discovered among the 15,000 families of Stamford, Connecticut, in a study made by the Advisory Committee on Program Research of Community Chests and Councils, Inc., for the years 1936 and 1937.[12] This study, a model of its kind, revealed that seven different types of social breakdown, each more definite and less inclusive than some of the conditions discussed above, had *affected approximately 4 per cent each year of the families of Stamford during the two years mentioned.* In this total, delinquency ranked first—approximately 1.5 per cent—and crime second—slightly over 1.0 per cent—as shown in the following table:

ANNUAL RATES OF SOCIAL BREAKDOWN AMONG STAMFORD FAMILIES [13]

Families

Category of Breakdown	Number		Rates per 1000 Families	
	1937	1936	1937	1936
Delinquency	209	239	14.1	16.3
Crime..	195	165	13.1	11.3
Mental disease...............	97	105	6.5	7.2
Divorce.....................	72	83	4.8	5.7
Unemployability.............	40	24	2.7	1.6
Neglect	27	41	1.8	2.8
Mental Deficiency............	11	9	.7	.6
Unduplicated total...........	606	624	40.8	42.6

[11] More efforts are made to handle problem girls through agencies other than the courts. See Sophia Robison, *Can Delinquency Be Measured?* New York, 1936.

[12] Community Chests and Councils, Inc., *Social Breakdown. A Plan for Measurement and Control,* New York, 1939.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 10.

As the Stamford report says:

> This is an accurate measure of social problems, individual and family breakdowns, that have become sufficiently serious to demand official action on the part of the community. . . . It does not accurately measure the full extent of the broad and more intangible area of family maladjustment in the community. A substantial proportion of the population of any community is likely at some time to experience social difficulty of varying degrees of seriousness—insufficient earnings, overcrowding, conflict between husband and wife, mental disorders, behavior difficulties, and many other manifestations with which social agencies are equipped to deal. Lacking clear-cut definitions, no statistical procedure can measure the extent of this general area of social difficulty. . . . The rate of serious official breakdown should indicate the rise and fall of the whole range of social difficulties.[14]

In other words, to say that 4 per cent of the families of an industrial community have experienced social breakdowns in a given year sufficiently serious to attract the attention of social or legal agencies is not to say that only 4 per cent of the families there are deviant families or families with higher-than-average behavior-risk factors. As the Stamford study implies, the actual number of deviant and higher-than-average-risk families *is probably several times 4 per cent.* To say, therefore, that 20 per cent of the nation's children are either delinquent, maladjusted, or in danger because of such conditions as those listed by the Stamford social agencies and others discussed in Chapter V seems to be a fairly conservative statement. With one-third of our people underhoused and at least one-third in poverty it does not seem an exaggeration to estimate that one-fifth of our children are either delinquent, maladjusted, or in danger of becoming delinquent or maladjusted.

These 9,000,000 children, scattered in every county in the United States but identifiable everywhere as *parolees, probationers, problem cases,* and *children in high-risk situations,* are the targets of the social-breakdown prevention movement.

What techniques are available for controlling the delinquency and maladjustment implicit in these 9,000,000? That is the question to which we now turn.

[14] *Ibid.,* pp. 10-11.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What kinds of techniques for the control of deviant behavior does the author enumerate?
2. What needs must be met in order to assure the social adjustment of a child?
3. Among what types of children are these needs not being met?
4. How does the author define the task of delinquency control in this chapter?
5. Why are parolees regarded as a high-risk type?
6. How many parolees are there in the United States?
7. Why are probationers regarded as a high-risk type?
8. What three types of children are distinguished with reference to their suitability for probation?
9. What is probation? Distinguish it from parole.
10. How many probationers are there in the United States? In Michigan?
11. What are behavior problems?
12. What percentage of the school population has such problems?
13. What types of situations are regarded as morally risky for children?
14. Does poverty cause juvenile delinquency?
15. Does the broken home cause juvenile delinquency?
16. What does eugenics have to offer toward the control of juvenile delinquency?
17. How many children are estimated to be "in danger"?
18. What is the total estimate of the number of delinquents, problem children, and children in danger?
19. How does this compare with the statistics on social breakdowns in Stamford, Connecticut?

The Child Who Is Delinquent

Part I.—*Agencies of Discovery and Determination of Treatment*

THE GROUP MOST URGENTLY NEEDING HELP

Of the three types of children with higher-than-average delinquency expectancies—delinquents, problem children, and children in danger—the *alleged* and the *adjudged delinquents* are the least numerous but potentially the most immediately dangerous. They are the least numerous for reasons suggested in Chapter III: only a minor fraction of the maladjusted children and the children in danger at any given time attain a sufficient "nuisance value" in the community to reach the juvenile court. But that fraction, just because its deviations have attained such a high nuisance value, contains a relatively high percentage of children so badly maladjusted or so seriously endangered that further deviations are inevitable.

There is another reason for considering these children first: Discovery has already occurred. By reaching the attention of an official agency *they have already discovered themselves.* Furthermore, for these children preventive techniques can be directed only to preventing a recurrence of their deviant behavior, not toward forestalling such behavior in the first place.

With these children, then, we have to do with only two of our four types of control techniques, namely, *diagnosis* and *treatment.*

THE COERCIVE NATURE OF CORRECTIONAL AGENCIES

It is important to observe at the outset that the relationship of the police and the juvenile court to the children who reach their attention is fundamentally different from that of private agencies to their clients. Children apprehended by the police or referred directly to the juvenile court by parents or by other

social agencies are not in contact with these public agencies
through any volition of their own. They are there because of the
coercive power of the state—the power of the police to appre-
hend offenders and the power of the court to impose corrective
measures.

Before examining this coercive power as it imposes itself on
the lives of the children it touches, it would be well to recall that
its present-day operations are the outcome of a long cultural
evolution.   .

THE SLOW RECOGNITION OF THE CHILD PROBLEM AND OF THE NEED FOR SKILLED TECHNIQUES

For present purposes we need not trace the long development
of the criminal law or the interesting history of punishment. It
will be enough to point out that merely during the last century
and a half in England and the United States there has been a
twofold evolution in this field—an evolution in the *purposes* of
the law and a correlative evolution in its *methods.*

As to purposes, there has been a gradual decline of the old
punitive theory and a corresponding rise of the theory of indi-
vidual rehabilitation, subject, of course, to the continuing need
of protecting society against the criminal. As to methods, there
has been a slow retreat of the fundamental corrective procedures
from the mouth of the correctional stream, so to speak—the adult
prison—upstream toward its sources—the child, the home, and
the community. The first reforms in the methods of crime con-
trol toward the end of the eighteenth century dealt with the end
result, the adult criminal in prison. Such an interest in humaniz-
ing, individualizing, and making more scientific the treatment of
the adult criminal in prison, before prison (probation), and after
prison (parole) has continued ever since. But early in the nine-
teenth century reformers began to realize that correctional treat-
ment need not wait for the social deviant to reach adulthood.
They began, in other words, to perceive the problem of the
juvenile deviant.

But again they began with an end result, *the deviant in an
institution.* In 1825 the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile
Delinquents established the House of Refuge on Randall's Island,
New York—the first juvenile reformatory in the United States.

By mid-century the idea had spread to the Midwest. In 1855 the Michigan legislature authorized the House of Correction for Juvenile Offenders which was opened the following year in Lansing. Now just as the reform of adult prisons has passed through an evolution of its own, so the juvenile reformatory likewise has evolved. From reformatories most of them became industrial schools, then vocational schools, and later under various names some have become schools for the total adjustment of the maladjusted personality. In 1940, as in the case of adult prisons, the juvenile correctional institutions were in all stages of this evolution. A few, especially certain private institutions such as the Children's Village at Dobbs Ferry, were definitely committed to the readjustive, rehabilitative point of view and were utilizing every resource of modern science and social technology to achieve their ends. Many were still punitive juvenile prisons, early nineteenth century in their point of view and methods. The "average," therefore, was still far short of the best.

We will examine the rôle of the correctional institution in a later section of this chapter. For the moment it will be enough to observe that thousands of children reach such institutions each year. A survey by the Children's Bureau as of January 1, 1938, reached 112 state schools and found that the 95 which responded were treating 46,999 children under their jurisdiction. Of these, approximately 70 per cent were boys, 30 per cent girls.[1]

In 1940 the evolution of the juvenile correctional institution was still proceeding and variations of different degrees of custodial security, such as correctional camps, were also being tried.

The Emergence of the Children's Court

Meanwhile, however, the conviction had long since spread that to wait till a deviant child reached an institution was still too late. By the end of the nineteenth century the growth of urban delinquency and the failure of the juvenile reform or correctional school to "solve" the problem were alike evident. So

[1] Of the 32,928 boys under the jurisdiction of the 43 schools for boys, 10 schools caring for both boys and girls, 14,685 were resident in the schools and 18,243 were non-resident but under jurisdiction of the schools. Of the 14,071 girls under the jurisdiction of the 42 schools for girls, and 10 mixed schools, 7837 were resident in school, and 6234 were non-resident.

reform moved one step farther back in the sequence of coercive action and organized the children's court. The first such courts in the United States were established in Chicago and in Denver in 1899.

The juvenile court represented a new and revolutionary approach to the problem of crime control. Instead of focusing attention on the offense, the juvenile court focused on the youthful offender; instead of seeking to punish, it sought to understand and assist; and instead of imposing a single pattern rigidly on all, ideally it tempered coercion with individual case treatment. For a generation the juvenile court represented the spearhead of the new attack upon delinquency. Within a few years every state except Wyoming and Maine had set up some form of children's court.

Theoretically the child brought into the children's court is brought in not as a criminal but as a child in trouble; and the function of the judge is not to determine guilt or innocence but to determine what kind of treatment the state, acting in the place of a wise parent, would prescribe. In order to carry out this ideal, the procedure requires a preliminary investigation of the child and his home background before the hearing in court. After that hearing, an important element of treatment for many cases is probation, or corrective case treatment in the community. Unfortunately, the lingering punitive tradition of the criminal law, the niggardliness of budgets practically everywhere outside of a few great cities, and the blighting hand of politics combined to keep all but a handful of the new courts from functioning at anywhere near their theoretical level of efficiency. All too often the pre-hearing investigations were superficial and inadequate. Probation consisted of a routinized check-up instead of the theoretically desirable case work required by the theory of the children's court.

THE CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC

It soon became evident that if any juvenile court was to understand its more serious cases it must supplement social investigation with all the resources of modern science. This realization led to the organization of the first child guidance clinic by

Dr. William Healy in Chicago in 1909. With the addition of the psychiatric social worker by Dr. Adler in 1915, the clinic came of age.

There followed a period of diffusion and testing by experience. The Commonwealth Fund during the early twenties put on a demonstration of guidance clinics in a number of cities. By 1929 there were perhaps 300 child guidance clinics in the United States, but it was apparent that they were expensive, small cities could not hope to finance their own independent clinics, and the clinical service alone, indispensable as it might be, was not enough for the control of delinquency. In Chicago and elsewhere sociological studies by Clifford Shaw and others had shown that delinquency in the big city was a moral disease of the *community*, not merely the maladjustment of a few individuals.

So as the thirties opened, community leaders again took up the march of reform. Seizing on an idea that had been working quietly in central California for more than a decade[2] they added lay leadership to official leadership and produced the community coordinating council, which in the next ten years was to revivify local government in hundreds of towns from California to Maine.[3]

At the same time less spectacular in the field but offering hope of even more intensive results, scientific experiments were testing control through community action. Notable along this line was Clifford Shaw's attempt to revitalize the forces of local leadership in his Area Projects in Chicago. Further evidence of the increasing pressure for the integration of community resources for the control of delinquency came from such studies as those in Jacksonville, Florida, and Stamford, Connecticut.

All in all, in something more than a century the focus of reform had thus shifted all the way back from the end-result—the adult criminal in prison—to the sources of crime—the maladjusted child, the maladjusted home, and the maladjustments of

[2] At Berkeley where Chief of Police August Vollmer and Assistant Superintendent of Schools Virgil Dickson organized the first coordinating council of officials in 1919.

[3] An American Legion survey in 1939 found 598 such councils in 24 states not including New York and Pennsylvania. The actual total at that time undoubtedly exceeded 700.

the community.[4] With this glance at the cultural evolution of present practices let us turn to some of those practices themselves.

NON-OFFICIAL AND OFFICIAL ACTION

When any child's deviant behavior passes a certain threshold of nuisance value in a community, there is a tendency for him to be brought to the attention of some agency outside the home for treatment and possible correction. In large urban centers such agencies will include visiting teachers, school clinics, and family case work agencies, as well as the police and the juvenile court. In smaller communities without adequate private agencies and adjustive facilities in the schools, probably a somewhat higher percentage of such cases will be handled by the law enforcement agencies and the court. But in every community deviations that involve serious breaches of the law ultimately demand the attention of the public law-enforcement and judicial agencies. It is with the practices of these agencies that we are here concerned.

In a general way, two kinds of action are to be noted: non-official and official. Non-official action is action that is corrective mainly in a monitory sense. A policeman, for example, discovers a gang building a bonfire in an alley or has his attention directed to the undesirable behavior of some youngster who has not yet committed a serious offense. Without making an official arrest he lets such youngsters know what the law means and possibly takes the matter up with their parents. In such a city as Detroit the police annually make from 10,000 to 14,000 such monitory contacts, but only about one in three of such cases will actually be apprehended and placed in the detention home and less than one in seven will be brought before the juvenile court. Of the cases that are brought before most juvenile courts from various sources many are usually treated in the same way, i.e., are let off

[4] See Alice Scott Nutt, "Trends in the Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency," *Federal Probation*, Vol. III, No. 4, November, 1939, for a somewhat similar analysis. Miss Nutt distinguishes four major movements: (1) the establishment of special institutions for juvenile delinquents; (2) provision for special courts; (3) provision for clinical and diagnostic services for study of the individual offender; and (4) organization of community forces for the prevention of delinquency. Mobilization of all techniques on a state-wide basis would constitute a fifth stage.

with a warning without any official record being made of the matter.

Thus the great bulk of the anti-social behavior that attracts the attention of the law enforcement and the juvenile judicial agencies is handled without adequate record and without utilizing the full correctional facilities of such agencies. This last point is of more than passing interest. *It means that the great majority of the overtly anti-social juvenile deviants work out their own problems without benefit of court, clinic, or psychiatrist.* This is of enormous significance and suggests something of the fundamental importance of the police in the actual control of crime and juvenile delinquency.

For the more serious cases which become matters of record, the police and the courts move through a definite series of coercive acts designed to correct the deviant behavior and in the end return the child to normal social relationships. This series of acts we shall refer to as *the correctional cycle.* To appraise the effectiveness of delinquency control *it is essential to see these acts as constituting one unitary corrective effort directed at each offender.*

THE CORRECTIONAL CYCLE

The cycle begins with the apprehension or referral of an alleged offender. It ends with the child's release from corrective coercion. From beginning to end the correctional cycle may be broken down into the following nine steps:

1. Apprehension or referral of alleged offender.

2. Restraintive custody pending determination of the desirability of proceeding further. Usually detention.

3. Preliminary diagnosis of the child's difficulties.

4. Decision on future action, i.e., whether he shall be taken to court, whether the court shall handle it as an official case or non-official, etc.

5. Determination concerning need of treat-
ment.

6. Prescription of the type of treatment to be } Court hearing.
given.

7. Treatment: probation, foster home placement, institutionalization, etc.

8. Gradual attenuation of treatment. In probation this means

the gradual decrease of supervision. In institutionalization it means parole.

9. Termination of treatment and return to unsupervised relationships.

In carrying out this cycle five agencies are particularly important: the *police*, the *detention home*, the *juvenile court*, the *probation officer*, and the *correctional institution*.

THE POLICE AND THE CORRECTIONAL CYCLE

Modern police departments are the remote descendants of the old rural constables whose duties, prescribed by English common law, were imported by the settlers of the early colonies. The constable is still to be found in many villages and rural districts.

The first adjustment to the growth of towns in the colonies came with the establishment of night watches under the supervision of the constables. In Massachusetts this was provided for in 1699, along with arrangements for a day watch, known as "ward." All able-bodied citizens above sixteen with certain property qualifications were made liable to perform "watch and ward." Later, as these duties became irksome, regular night watchmen were hired. By 1800 this scheme of paid night watchmen was regularly established in the Atlantic seaboard cities.

But the cities rapidly outgrew such primitive policing arrangements. The first regular day police force in the United States was organized in New York City. In 1844 this comprised 16 regulars and 108 special officers for Sundays plus 100 mayor's marshals and 34 constables. The night watch, meanwhile, a separate force, consisted of 1100 men. Following New York, day watches had been organized in Philadelphia in 1833 and in Cincinnati in 1842. But the system of two independent police forces led to friction and inefficiency.

So in 1844 the New York legislature provided for a consolidated day and night police force, the basis for the modern police organizations in the United States. Boston, Providence, Philadelphia, Chicago, and other cities followed in reorganizing their forces during the next few years.

From the beginning the problem of controlling the police in the interests of the whole community and not in the interests of the politicians has been and remains serious. With an average

tenure of office of less than four years, chiefs of police have been seriously handicapped in developing continuity of policies and a professional point of view. The most dramatic example of the incidence of politics on policing was the dereliction from duty on the part of the policeman assigned to guard the entrance to President Lincoln's box at Ford's theater on the night of the assassination, April 4, 1865. This man, whose absence from his post for the sake of a drink had cost the life of the president, was not dismissed from the Washington police force till three years later and then it was for "sleeping on his beat!"[5]

The wide adoption of civil service for policemen after 1895 weakened the grip of politics somewhat, but all over the country police departments in 1940 were still struggling with such problems as political influence, inadequate pay, the need of training schools, better records, lack of up-to-date means of communication, need of crime detection laboratories, and the need of building professional attitudes and standards of police service. The establishment of state constabularies in a dozen or more states had done much to raise standards, as had also the work of leaders such as August Vollmer of Berkeley, California. Of tremendous importance also in many ways but especially in making the law-enforcement officer a hero for juvenile America was the work of J. Edgar Hoover at the head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation at Washington.

Traditionally as developed in Europe, modern police work has three phases: "The first phase embraces the identification of living and dead persons. The second embraces the field work carried out by specially trained detectives at the scene of the crime. The third embraces methods used in the police laboratory to examine and analyze clues and traces discovered in the course of the investigation."[6]

Since the appointment of the first policewoman in Los Angeles in 1910, however, and the establishment in New York of a special crime prevention unit in 1915, it would be more adequate to add a fourth function, namely, *crime prevention*. Crime prevention as police executives usually use the term means special protective,

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[5] See Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years*, New York, 1939.

[6] Harry Soderman and John J. O'Connell, *Modern Criminal Investigation*, New York, 1935, p. 1.

monitory, and corrective attention given by the police to juveniles and to certain deviation pressures in the community. The instrumentalities through which this attention functions are policewomen, special officers detailed to handle boys' cases, and organized juvenile divisions.

Police functions in the control of delinquency seem to vary in different communities, depending on the size of the community and the extent to which its needs are being met by other agencies. Thus in one small city widely known for the work of its Boys' Club the police emphasize the need of closer cooperation of the schools with the club and the importance of not overlooking the homes. In Grand Rapids Chief O'Malley, having failed to persuade other agencies to set up a boys' program in the highest-risk area in the city, organized his own Youth Center with a regular member of the force in charge, seven days a week. In Kalamazoo where local recreational needs are well taken care of, Chief Ralph Chapman emphasized follow-up work by local citizens with boys reaching police attention. In Detroit where the department for many years has had a juvenile division to deal with boys and a women's division to handle problems affecting girls, emphasis falls on (1) efforts to bring to the attention of local social agencies specific children and particular neighborhoods where case work and group work programs are needed; (2) contact and supervision of particular trouble cases referred to the department by individuals or other agencies; (3) the protection of the community and young people in particular by supervising newsboys under the Street Trades Ordinance, patroling dance halls, beer gardens, poolrooms, shooting galleries, bowling alleys, theaters, and carnivals; and (4) educational contacts, talks, exhibits, etc. in the homes, the schools, and on the street.

The Boys' Juvenile Division in Detroit in 1940 consisted of Inspector William M. Johnson, two sergeants, fourteen detectives and two patrolmen. All men assigned to the division when it was reorganized in 1931 had had from two to four years of college training and were required to take courses in child guidance, public speaking, and psychology.

"Interestingly enough," Inspector Johnson explained, "officers with less than five years of police duty were found better quali-

fied because they could be more readily trained to work with boys."

The city was divided into seven districts for juvenile work, and two officers were assigned to a district. These districts overlap the boundary lines of the fifteen precincts in the various parts of the city. The officers assigned to the districts investigate all complaints against boys within their boundary. The officers also file petitions against boys in the Juvenile Court after they have become convinced that no other procedure will help.

Cases involving boys from ten to seventeen years of age are referred to the Boys' Juvenile Division for investigation and disposition. All boys under ten years and all girls are assigned to the Women's Division. Cases of perversion between a male adult and a boy of juvenile age are assigned to and prosecuted by the Men's Division.

The Boys' Juvenile Division is affiliated with the social agencies of Detroit and Wayne County, and cooperates with them in all programs to suppress delinquency. Close relationship with the police of adjoining counties is maintained at all times.

In different sections of the city, business and professional men and women have formed what are known as Human Relations Councils. Through their efforts a great deal of constructive work has been accomplished in promoting playground and leisure-time activities for children in the immediate neighborhoods. Members of the Boys' Juvenile Division are active in all these councils. The officers from the various precincts have also sponsored Boy Scout troops, and have aided in the work of the Junior Intelligence Bureau, a crime prevention program organized by the county prosecutor.

DETENTION AND THE CORRECTIONAL CYCLE

During any ordinary year in the United States more than 100,000 boys and girls under 18 will be detained pending further action by public authorities. In a study covering the fiscal year 1929-30, Dr. Florence M. Warner found 118,772 boys and girls under the age of 18 under detention. Of these, 77,809 were detained in public detention homes and 18,659 in private shelters. Thirty-four of the 119 areas reporting used jails and police stations as places of detention. During the year studied, 16,493 boys

and girls were detained in police stations and jails. In only 22 areas reporting would it appear that there were no children of juvenile court age detained in jails or police stations in 1929-30.

The function of detention in the correctional cycle, whether in private homes or in public institutions, is primarily to care for children on behalf of the police and the courts. Fundamentally, therefore, it has two uses: (1) to keep the child secure until his case can be heard; (2) to enable the authorities to study the child and to gather information concerning his background. Detention as such is not a means of treatment; it is a period during which the need of treatment and the kind of treatment can be determined. But as Dr. Warner pointed out, "in some communities the detention home has degenerated into a sort of parking station for children, and almost any person can bring a child to the detention home and leave him until called for." This is an abuse of the principle of detention. It is also an abuse when the detention home is used by the court as a kind of in-community correctional institution. The average detention home is not equipped to provide the treatment needed for correction. As a matter of fact, the average detention home is not even equipped to provide the diagnostic services needed to enable the court to determine intelligently the kind of treatment to be given. Except in a few of the larger cities, it is rare indeed to find a detention home set up to provide a clinical study of its inmates and to supply the court with a complete theory of each child's maladjustment when the child is brought to court.[7] As a matter of fact, experts in the social work and correctional fields have come to feel that the temporary placement of children in private homes may be preferable to their detention in the congregate type of home. The use of boarding homes results in the detention of fewer children and is more economical. A better attitude on the part of the child is developed, and treatment is therefore more successful. But such procedure assumes other sources of technical information on the child as well as a careful selection of boarding homes. It is desirable therefore that the court have its own separate psychological and psychiatric clinic and the close coopera-

[7] The Lucas County Child Study Institute of the Juvenile Court at Toledo, Ohio, is an example of a detention home organized to study as well as detain children placed in it.

tion of an efficient child-placing agency.[8] Such requirements reflect the experience of experts working in well-equipped communities. For the average town in the United States, or rather for the average county seat, which lacks specialized facilities, detention will probably continue for a long time to be a matter of the congregate home. Hence to raise the standard of detention, local leadership must discover to what degree the local detention home falls short of recognized national standards.[9]

The Juvenile Court in the Correctional Cycle

We have already noted the fact that the first juvenile courts in the United States were established in 1899 as a result of the growing conviction that further differentiation of treatment for juveniles was needed beyond that possible in juvenile correctional institutions as compared with adult prisons. The legal principles underlying the juvenile court may, however, be traced far back in English jurisprudence. Two such origins may be discerned: chancery jurisdiction and the criminal law.

> Even before the establishment of chancery jurisdiction in England, the doctrine had long been recognized in common law, that the state or its agent, the court, was the ultimate parent of all minors. This theory can be traced back to the feudal times in England where the Crown through the "Inquisitio post mortem" assumed supervision over the estates of minors in order to realize the fruits of tenure and livery to the overlord. . . . The essential idea of chancery is welfare, or balancing of interests It stands for flexibility, guardianship, and protection rather than for rigidity and punishment.[10]

With the attainment of American independence the state rather than the Crown became the *parens patriae* of all minors in the United States.

> It seems consistent to hold that the neglect or dependency aspect of the court's jurisdiction is based on the parental aspect of the English

[8] See *Social Work Year Book*, New York, 1935, p. 227.

[9] *Research Standards*.

[10] B. Flexner and R. Oppenheimer, "Legal Aspects of the Juvenile Court," 57 *Am. L. Rev.* 65. Cited in James E. Stermer and Harold N. Rosemont, *Manual for Juvenile Court Officers of State of Michigan*, Michigan W.P.A. Recreation Division, Ann Arbor, 1935, p. 3.

chancery law; while its delinquency jurisdiction grew out of criminal law.[11]

English chancery courts concerned themselves with civil rights exclusively; they never exercised criminal jurisdiction. Under English common law an infant under seven was held to be incapable of committing a crime. From seven to fourteen the child was presumed to be without criminal capacity, but this presumption could be rebutted if it could be shown that an offender was capable of appreciating the nature of his acts.

As guilt in law depends upon a psychological state, it is 'quite largely dependent upon the age and maturity of the child in question. When the enactors of the various juvenile court acts pushed the age upward to 17, 18 or 21 years, they simply inferred that the capacity for criminal acts does not develop until that age is passed, and by extending the jurisdictional age the legislature merely carried forward the common law rule to a sociological conclusion.[12]

By declaring acts of delinquency *not* to be *crimes* the courts and legislatures have in effect extended the philosophy of the courts of chancery to cover anti-social behavior.

THE JUVENILE COURT'S FUNCTIONS AS A CORRECTIONAL AGENCY

The functions of the juvenile court in the correctional cycle are (1) to discover on the behalf of society whether a child's behavior deviates as alleged and (2) to prescribe the *type* of treatment needed to adjust the child. Observe, however, that the judge is charged not only with the responsibility for adjusting the child but with the responsibility of protecting the child and protecting society as well. As judge, he is neither victim, policeman, social worker, psychologist, psychiatrist, nor interested bystander, and yet he must give due consideration to the claims of each of these and also to the claims of the child's own developing personality. Hence it is that so many "experts" complain frequently that their recommendations are disregarded by the courts.

Let us turn now to the way the juvenile court actually functions in handling a case. Here we have a typical delinquent

[11] *Manual, etc.,* p. 5.
[12] *Ibid.,* p. 7.

youngster of fourteen or fifteen who has gone through the pre-
liminary stages of the correctional cycle. In other words, he has
been apprehended by the police, he has been in the detention
home for several days while officers of the court have studied
him and have collected information on his social background.
Somewhere along the line someone, a police officer or a probation
officer or someone else, has made the decision that there is enough
evidence to indicate the need of a court hearing—the need, in
other words, of an official determination of the necessity of public
treatment in this case.[13]

The actual procedure at the formal court hearing may vary
considerably not only from state to state but from jurisdiction to
jurisdiction within the same state. In general, however, as we
have seen, the theory of the juvenile court is clear: The child is
brought before the court not as a criminal but as a child who
needs the aid and encouragement of public officials acting the

[13] In Michigan and in most other states which have juvenile courts, the
process before a hearing consists of the following steps:

1. The petition. Initiation of the proceeding by petition is characteristic
   of the juvenile court based upon chancery jurisdiction instead of the
   complaint, information, or indictment used in criminal proceedings.
2. Detention.
3. Social investigation. The social investigation should cover the com-
   plaint, should give information concerning the child, his development,
   his mental and physical condition, school history, his working history,
   his juvenile associates, his court record if any, should give information
   concerning his parents or relatives, conditions in the home, the family
   record with other agencies, the facts and circumstances of the par-
   ticular case.
4. Psychological and psychiatric investigations, *if facilities are available*
   (which they are *not* in over 90 per cent of the juvenile courts of the
   nation).
5. Summons. That is, the court formally calls the child and his parents in
   for the court hearing. Since the courts consistently recognize the funda-
   mental proposition that every parent is entitled to have the care and
   custody of his own child, final action necessarily means that notice
   shall be given to the parents. There are various ways in which this
   may be done, by personal service or by publication.

   In case the summons cannot be served or parties fail to obey the
   summons and in any case upon the filing of the sworn petition when
   it shall appear to the court from testimony that it will be for the
   immediate welfare of the child, a writ may issue directing an officer
   to bring such child before the court. Witnesses may be subpoenaed.
6. The court hearing.

See *ibid.*, pp. 39 f.

part of a wise parent—usually for parents who are anything but wise.

As the *Manual for Juvenile Court Officers of Michigan* says, "the primary function of the court is to get the truth from the child, to weigh the results of the investigation, to determine what his needs are, and to decide upon the treatment which will best subserve the interests of the child and society; it is not, primarily, to prove the child guilty or not guilty of the act charged." To protect the child and his parents from needless embarrassment, the laws usually permit the court to exclude persons having no legitimate interest in the case. Unfortunately in many small communities privacy of juvenile court hearings is not observed.

THE COURT HEARING

The hearing decides three questions: (1) Is this child the type of child who needs corrective treatment? (2) What type of treatment should he receive? (3) What agency should be responsible for that treatment?

According to federal standards the hearing should be held as soon as proper notice can be given to the parents; within forty-eight hours of the child's apprehension. There should be no publicity on a juvenile court case; the hearing should be private with no one present who is not directly concerned with that case. Even witnesses should not be permitted in the courtroom except while testifying. The purpose in general is to shield and protect the child from unnecessary public notice. According to federal standards, also, the hearing should be conducted informally; which means that the practice and procedure of the criminal courts should be avoided. By all means, the child and the parents should not be given the idea that the child is being tried for a criminal offense. Some states permit children brought into juvenile court to ask for jury trial. When such trials are held, they are almost always attended by publicity and generally produce undesirable results. In the larger cities, the juvenile judge is frequently assisted by a referee. The referee hears the facts of the case and makes his recommendations. This is especially desirable in girls' cases when a properly qualified girls' referee is available.

In determining delinquency, the court is not primarily concerned with any specific act. Most laws are very loosely and

widely drawn. That is to say, they enumerate a great number of acts and classes of situations in which a child may be found and any one of which qualifies him to be held as a delinquent. Thus, the Michigan law says that a delinquent child is "any child under the age of 17 who violates any law of the state or any city or village ordinance or is incorrigible or knowingly associates with thieves, vicious or immoral persons, or is growing up in idleness or crime, or knowingly visits or enters a house of ill repute," and so on and so on for another nine enumerated types of offenses.

This vagueness in defining delinquency is administratively highly useful, but for statistical purposes it is almost hopeless. Just how much likeness or difference is there in conduct covered by such an adjective as "incorrigible"? How much "wandering about any railroad yard or track" does a child have to do in order to be regarded as "habitually" wandering about such places? The point is, for the good of the child the court is almost never interested in just particular isolated offenses. What interests it is to determine what type of child this is, what kind of individual the public has to deal with. This is quite a different point of view from that of the criminal court, and it is for this reason that the juvenile court has had to place so much more reliance on social evidence and on the evidence supplied by experts in medicine, psychology, and psychiatry. For this reason, also, the ordinary rigid rules of evidence are usually somewhat relaxed in a juvenile court hearing. Yet this does not necessarily mean that such a hearing is conducted without order or that anything whatever can be introduced in evidence.

In general, the quality of a hearing would seem to depend partly on the character of the proceedings which we have just discussed, partly on the information available to the judge, and partly on the judge's insight, sympathy, and judgment. The information should cover the child's physical condition in such detail as would result from a careful examination by a competent physician; detailed information on his mental level; his specific capacities and incapacities; his peculiar habit patterns; the social conditions under which he has lived—the characteristics of his home, the attitudes of his parents, and so on; and finally, it should supply detailed information on the emotional condition of the child, information which in cases where there is

a question of emotional maladjustment can be obtained only through an examination by a trained psychiatrist. Unfortunately, over 90 per cent of the juvenile courts in the United States almost never have adequate information on all four of these types of evidence. Most of them do not even get an adequate description of the social conditions under which the child has lived; and outside of the larger cities, only a handful ever get any information of any kind on the emotional factors underlying the behavior of their cases. In other words, the chances are that any one who reads this book will find that the court in his own community or his own county has not come anywhere near the desirable standards set up by best practice in this field. It is probably functioning with more or less waste and inefficiency; it is not doing its best for the cases brought before it; and this is true quite apart from the capacity and good intentions of the officials of the court. *Good intentions alone without adequate techniques and facilities are always inefficient.*

It is true that judges of children's courts are seldom chosen, as the federal standards would have them chosen, for their peculiar interest in and understanding of children. Almost everywhere except in a few of the larger cities they have other and more time-consuming duties than the hearing of children's cases. In some states they are the clerks of the criminal courts. In other states they handle probate matters, and most of their time then is taken up with determining what the testator meant when he wrote such and such a phrase in the will. In Michigan, for example, where this is true, the estimated time given to juvenile court work in 1934 in six counties ran from 20 per cent in one county to 80 per cent in another in which there was a referee, who of course gave 100 per cent of his time to that particular business. Under these conditions, it is easy to say that there should in general be a higher type of personality on the children's court bench. But an experience of several years with the juvenile court judges of one state has convinced me that the weakest spot in the juvenile court is not the judge but rather the judge's *unawareness of what constitutes best practice* and especially *the failure of state and county to provide the facilities necessary* for carrying out the court's functions in the most efficient way.

At this point attention should be called to the fact that much

of the social work technique and much of the procedural detail developed in the large communities has been evolved precisely because the communities *are* large. In smaller communities it is frequently unnecessary for the judge to have a detailed written case record before him because he personally knows the families and the histories of the cases brought into his court. He may not know these things as a social worker would, but he knows them as a member of the community and as a neighbor. In other words, in the smaller community the juvenile court judge is functioning on the gossip level and closer to the primary group than is true in the larger community. Hence there is more of the person-to-person relationship, the importance of which should never be underestimated by outside "experts."

This does not in any way mitigate the need for trained probation officers, guidance clinic service, etc., in smaller communities. But it does suggest a distinction between (1) techniques which are demanded by the nature of the court's relation to the child and (2) those techniques which are demanded by the nature of deviant behavior itself. The first may vary in different communities; the second are the same everywhere.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Why consider alleged and adjudged delinquents first in discussing the technology of delinquency control?
2. What have been the trends in the control of delinquency?
3. How would you explain the late emergence of the juvenile court?
4. What are the distinctive characteristics of the juvenile court?
5. Distinguish non-official from official action.
6. What is the correctional cycle? And what are its phases?
7. What similarities do you see between the evolution of police work and the evolution of delinquency control?
8. What are common problems of police work?
9. How do modern departments handle the problem of protecting juveniles?
10. What is the function of detention in the correctional cycle?
11. What are the shortcomings in detention as actually practiced?
12. What are the legal origins of the juvenile court?
13. What are the functions of the juvenile court as a court?
14. Outline the steps preceding hearing.
15. What three questions does the hearing decide?

16. What is delinquency?
17. What percentage of juvenile courts have adequate information on the children brought before them?
18. What is the relationship between children's work and other work of juvenile court judges? \
19. What characteristic of small communities affects the need of records?
20. Explain the distinction pointed out at the end of the chapter.

Part II.—*Treatment Agencies*

THE PROBLEM OF TREATMENT

What type of treatment shall an adjudged delinquent receive?

The answer to that question must obviously depend on the judge's understanding of the problem presented by the particular child; on the facilities available to the court; and on the judge's regard for the broader interests of the child, the parents, and the community at large. What treatment facilities are available to the "average" judge? "Best practice," of course, would provide him with an adequate probation staff of trained officers numerous enough to be able to handle a case load of not over fifty or sixty cases each. "Best practice" would give him money enough to place children in boarding homes where he felt that to be desirable. "Best practice" would present him with a wide range of different types of correctional institutions, camps, correctional homes, and so on. But the great majority of the juvenile court judges in the United States have few of these advantages. They must work without trained probation officers, they must rely on volunteers to do the so-called case work which certain cases need. Probation in their courts means little more, and must mean little more, than an occasional check-up, a routine "signing of the book" by the probationers. To call such procedures probation is to discredit the name. And yet over wide areas of the United States probation for juveniles amounts to this and no more. Beyond this, when a youngster has violated probation or seems too far gone to profit from the type of so-called probation available, the average judge has little choice except to send such a youngster to a state correctional institution.

During recent years Bixsby and others have urged the need of

divorcing probation administration from the juvenile court itself. There is no question whatever that correctional treatment of juvenile court cases is becoming a highly specialized business which even the specialized courts in great cities probably cannot attend to as efficiently as agencies devoted exclusively to such treatment could. Politically, however, there seems to be little chance that such a divorce of functions will occur in the great majority of the juvenile courts in the United States for a long time to come. This will be true even where the probation officers eventually secure the protection of Civil Service and semi-professional status in a department of their own. The curse of the whole probation situation in the juvenile courts in the ordinary community today (1940) is that the work is not recognized as requiring professional training. It does not command pay adequate to the type of personnel required for the job; there is no security of tenure; and appointments are dominated by politics. Best practice represented by such states as New York, of course, to some extent overcomes most of these shortcomings. But in most states of the Union an urgently needed reform is to bring the probation service of the juvenile court up to professional standards, provide adequate salaries, insure security of tenure, and take politics out of the picture. It is probable that this can only be accomplished on a state-wide basis, and that therefore a definite state-wide organization for the purpose will be necessary. All of which raises questions of leadership and social action, which we shall discuss in a later chapter.

THE PROBATION OFFICER IN THE CORRECTIONAL CYCLE

It has been pointed out by workers in the correctional field that the probation officer shares certain characteristics with the social case worker and also with the law enforcement officer.[14] But it has also been made clear that he likewise has certain different functions peculiar to himself. For example, the probation officer receives his client for a definite period of time. Second, he receives the client under special court orders, not as the result

[14] See *Handbook of Probation*, Ralph Hall Ferris, assistant state director of correction in charge of probation, Lansing, Michigan, 1938. Dr. Ferris is discussing primarily the adult probation officer, but the same characteristics apply to the juvenile probation officer as well.

of a voluntary choice of the client. Third, clients of the juvenile probation officer are received from a special social class—children who have been adjudged delinquent by the juvenile court. Thus "the probation officer exercises social readjustive supervision by authority of law over a selected class, while the social worker exercises readjustive supervision by the client's voluntary acceptance of it over any maladjusted member of society." As for law enforcement, the probation officer has a legal power to arrest and detain persons, but, as Dr. Ferris points out, in two respects

the functions of the probation officer differ radically from those of law enforcement agents. First, the power to arrest and detain is limited to one special class, the probationers under his charge; it does not extend to the discovery of crime, the detection of the criminal, or the arrest and detention of any person committing a crime. Also, this power is definitely incidental to, and a minor element of, his primary task, social readjustive supervision of probationers, while the power to arrest and detain is primary and essential to the work of law enforcement agents. Second, the probation officer is primarily the confidential advisor of the judge in his relation to the court. He is not confidential advisor in the matter of interpreting the law, the conduct of trial, or the determination of guilt and sentence, but only in the matter of the character, tendencies, and outlook on life of the person . . . referred to him by the court for investigation. Thus probation officers constitute a definite class in a group distinct from, but between, social workers and law enforcement agents. Therefore, by definition and in fact, the probation officer is a correctional worker.

In short, a probation officer is a *correctional case worker*. It is his business, working with the information supplied by the social investigation and by the various expert advisors of the court, to bring to a focus on his clients and the cases placed under his supervision the various readjustive resources of the community. If a child needs dental work done, it is the probation officer's duty to see that it is done. If a child is running with undesirable companions, it is the probation officer's duty to get him in contact with more desirable companions. If the parents discriminate against the youngster in the home, or if there is sibling rivalry, or any one of a dozen other conditions in that home, it is the probation officer's business to interpret the case to the parents and try to bring about a change in their attitudes and at the same

time to interpret the situation to the youngster in his charge so
as to change his attitudes. As we have pointed out before, there
are only three things that any case worker can do in the treat-

FIGURE 22.—WHAT A PROBATION OFFICER DOES

DAILY ACTIVITIES OF A PROBATION OFFICER
UNION COUNTY PROBATION SERVICE
NEW JERSEY

Industry
Clinics
Hospitals
Doctors
Social Case Work Agencies
Character Building Agencies
Church Agencies
Church

Health Agencies
Recreation
Police
Public Departments
Clubs
Camps
Service Clubs

Supervision of Individual and Family
Group and Adjustments
Preventive Guidance

COMMUNITY RESOURCES

HOME VISITS

Psychiatric Study
Recommendations

Clients
Professional Contacts
Public Seeking Advice
Preventative Guidance

OFFICE VISITS

MENTAL HYGIENE CLINIC

CORRESPONDENCE & WRITTEN REPORTS

Dictation
Letters
Out of Town Communications
Social Service Exchange
Agency Reports

Staff Meetings
Conferences
Lectures
School

STAFF EDUCATION

INVESTIGATION

COURTS

SCHOOL VISITS

Personal Reports
Hearings
Conference with Judges

Pre Sentence
Supplemental
Post Sentence
Chancery Court
Criminal Courts
Juvenile Court
Domestic Relations Court
Municipal Court
Recorder's Court
Out of County

Pupil
Teacher
Principal
Attendance Officer
Visiting Teacher
Psychologist
Superintendent of Schools
School Nurse
School Doctor
School Dentist

How a New Jersey Officer Spends His Time

The multifarious duties of a probation officer in a good state system are
diagrammed above. This represents an approximation to "best practice." The
actual activities of most probation officers in the United States would show a
different pattern. (From *Probation*. Courtesy, National Probation Association,
New York.)

ment of a case: he can take the client out of the given environ-
ment; he can modify the environment; or he can change the
client's attitude toward the environment. If the environment and
the child's attitude are alike unmodifiable, it is the probation

officer's business to reopen the case with the court and make additional recommendations. Perhaps the child should be placed in a foster home, or perhaps he should be sent to an institution. It is the probation officer who must make the recommendation, and the court must back the recommendation with the power of law. The range of his activities is suggested in Figure 22.

Obviously there are certain techniques of interviewing, case recording, and the like which the trained probation officer should know. But there are separate techniques of understanding human beings, forms of insight that depend on sincere interest in other people, on honesty of purpose, and on real respect for personality, which can seldom be taught but which seem to depend largely on the character of the worker. All of which boils down to the need in the juvenile probation field of high-class personnel with adequate training. High-class personnel with adequate training cannot be obtained in any field without adequate security of tenure, adequate compensation on a par with similar professional workers in education, social work, and medicine, and more particularly so long as politics controls appointments as it does in so many countries and states in the United States today (1940).

PROBATION AS IT IS PRACTICED

Consider the picture as revealed, for example, in a survey of six counties in a state like Michigan in 1935. The six counties ranged from Wayne, with nearly 2,000,000 in population, to Chippewa in the upper peninsula, with 25,000. In the number of delinquents handled each year, between 5000 and 6000, Michigan was probably an average state, and it is also probable that the conditions revealed in this survey prevail in large measure over most of the areas served by juvenile courts in the United States in 1940. There is probably much the same range in adequacy of facilities between the highly industrialized areas and the relatively poor agricultural and mining and timber areas. Briefly summarized, the picture in Michigan in 1935 was substantially as follows:

Juvenile probation in Michigan was authorized by state law but administered and financed by the various counties, subject only to advisory supervision by the State Welfare Department at

Lansing. Juvenile parole for boys was authorized by law and administered by the superintendent of the Boys Vocational School at Lansing with the aid of the county-paid probation officers in Kent and Wayne counties and the state-paid county welfare agents in the other counties.

This division of authority and financial support between the state and the counties and between different agencies concerned in carrying out the same function within the state was a factor of weakness in both systems. As to probation, the richer counties paid their own probation officers; the poorer ones added proba- tion supervision to the numerous other duties of the county welfare agents, while the State Welfare Department, which was charged with the duty of supervising the probation supervisors, found itself powerless to enforce efficiency in a maze of political and governmental red tape.

There were 2695 boys and girls on probation July 1, 1935, in Michigan. As a system, probation presented marked contrasts be- tween Wayne and the other five counties. It would be too much to say that Wayne County was the only one of the six that had a system, but it was certainly true that Wayne County made far more adequate provision for probation service than did any other Michigan county. By and large, the probation system outside of Wayne presented a picture of regular officers in Kent, Washtenaw, and Saginaw counties sadly overloaded; county agents in Ingham and Chippewa doing probation work on part time; and volun- teers being utilized in Kent, Saginaw, and Washtenaw counties.

Overwhelmingly the judges and officials outside of Wayne, with the single exception of Saginaw, condemned the existing system.

The general picture varies from more or less "wholesome neglect" in Chippewa and Ingham counties to routine reporting in Kent county— with critical cases singled out for special attention—and some attempts at case work in Wayne county. Nowhere, however, is case work actually extensive enough to achieve convincing results. In Kent, Saginaw, Washtenaw and even in Wayne there are more cases than there is com- petent service to deal with them. Wayne county comes nearer to pro- viding this service than does any other county—yet the average load of 19 officers was 43 per cent overload by accepted social work standards. The boys' probation officer in Kent county is a sincere and capable

man, but he was supervising 120 delinquent boys and making the inves-
tigations of new cases—an overload of more than 140 per cent. In
Washtenaw county while the probation officer had only two other jobs
and therefore did not reach the distinction of that official in another
county discovered in the 1926 survey, who had six jobs altogether, the
case load of over 100 obviously made it impossible to do justice to the
juvenile probationer.

Case records are generally poor. Outside of Wayne and Kent counties,
probation officers' records were virtually non-existent. In one county
the probation officer kept a notebook of names and in another county
the officer had what was called a "private" list. Beyond that, nothing.
The officers in Wayne and Kent kept very complete records, but if
conditions in the other counties are typical of the rest of the State,
there is a deplorable need of education in the basic elements of proba-
tion work. ·

The obvious fact seems to be that outside of Wayne and Kent coun-
ties the supervision of juvenile probation is very sketchy and almost
never becomes real case work at all. In other words, the whole purpose of
the system is defeated.

There is no evidence whatever that the use of volunteers in the weaker
counties is meeting the needs of the situation. Undoubtedly the volun-
teers mean well and are doing the best they can—which is quite beside
the point. The one thing that stands out above all others is the wide
variation in personnel, facilities and efficiency between Wayne county
and the other counties. The impression is inescapable that efficiency in
probation service in Michigan tends to be associated with industrial
wealth, and that the poorer counties tend to have poorer service which
in some places may amount to nothing at all.

APPRAISALS

It is impossible in a study of this kind to evaluate fairly the probation
system in these counties. To do that would require the tracing of many
cases through many years. It is possible, however, to present a rough
classification of what the investigators "sized up" as successful, doubtful,
and unsuccessful cases. Of course such a classification includes the
effect of many things over and above the probation system itself. Proba-
tioners in Detroit, for example, are exposed to a complexity of com-
munity influences that do not exist in a city such as Grand Rapids, one-
tenth the size of Detroit, to say nothing of the conditions in the Soo with
less than 15,000. A rough estimate of success and failure, therefore, is not
an estimate of the success or failure of the probation system but an esti-

mate of the success or failure resulting from the whole complex of forces working on the probationer in the given community. Such an estimate allocates success and failure as follows among the 230 probationers interviewed in six counties:

	Number Cases	% Successful	% Doubtful and Failures
Chippewa.........	7	42	58
Ingham...........	29	65	58
Kent..............	59	54	46
Saginaw...........	49	51	49
Washtenaw........	29	65	35
Wayne............	57	45	55
	230	53.9	46.1

On the whole, slightly more than half (53.9 per cent) of the 230 probationers interviewed were classed as having made successful adjustments. About one-fourth (26.1 per cent) were regarded as doubtful, while 20 per cent were definitely classed as failures.[15]

These results in Michigan were somewhat less optimistic than those of Dr. Belle Boone Beard who from a study of 500 probation cases of the Boston Juvenile Court found that "for almost one-half of the boys (43 per cent) and for three-fourths of the girls (76 per cent) probation treatment yields the desired result; that is, it not only eliminates illegal and anti-social activities, but it prevents their recurrence."[16] Thirty-four per cent of the boys and 12 per cent of the girls were classified as temporary successes; 21 per cent of the boys and 12 per cent of the girls were failures.

These two studies are of course not quite comparable. Dr. Beard's covered a larger number of cases but was confined to the results of probation as practiced in one great eastern city. The Michigan study included the practices of semi-rural and rural jurisdictions like the majority of those in the United States. Neither study really appraised probation as such for neither eliminated the influence of other factors on the children studied. Until some method is devised for matching a group of probationers with a *similar* group of adjudged delinquents who are not placed on probation it will be impossible to say that we have

[15] Lowell Juilliard Carr, *What's Wrong with Juvenile Probation and Parole in Michigan?* Report of Survey of State Welfare Department, 1936, pp. 4, 7-10.

[16] *Juvenile Probation*, New York, 1934, p. 147.

anything more than partial descriptions of the outcome of complicated processes in which probation is merely *one* of a great many factors involved.

For whatever reasons, then, 40 to 60 per cent of cases placed on probation fail to make an adjustment and must be placed in boarding homes or in institutions if further treatment is to be continued. Various studies show that recommendations for change of environment range from 17 to 60 per cent of the cases

FIGURE 23.—ESTIMATED OUTCOME OF PROBATION IN SIX COUNTIES

230 CASES
AT TIME OF PROBATION
Sept. 1933 - March 1934   Average Interval 63 8 Weeks

230 CASES
AT TIME OF EVALUATING PROBATION
Dec. 1934 - June 1935
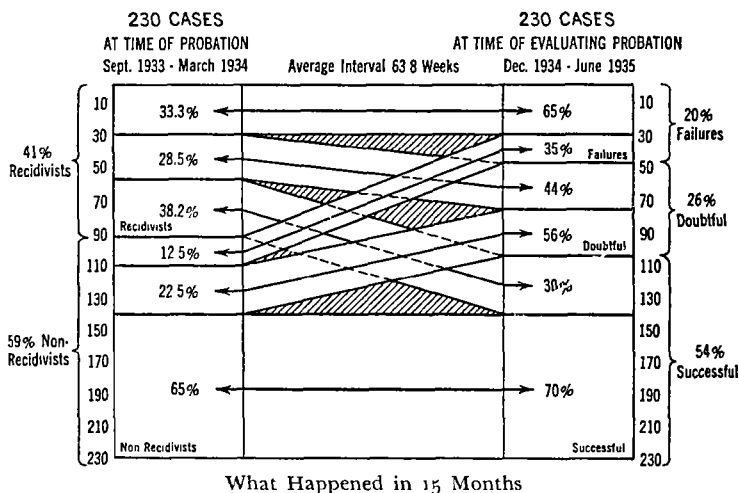
What Happened in 15 Months

In approximately 15 months on probation, 230 Michigan boys in six counties came out 54 per cent "successful," 26 per cent "doubtful," 20 per cent "failures." Two-thirds of the first offenders were successful as compared with a little over one-third (38.2 per cent) of the recidivists.

examined in the Institute for Juvenile Research, the Judge Baker Foundation Clinic, the Healy and Bronner Studies, and in other placement agencies. The percentage of children who are moved from their homes and who are placed in foster homes instead of institutions varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, depending on facilities and the attitude of the local judge. Authorities generally regard the foster or boarding home as a superior treatment device if the child's maladjustment is not too pronounced, if the child is not too attached to his own parents,

and if there seems to be little likelihood of changing parental attitudes.[17]

Foster Home Treatment

The use of foster home treatment is a procedure that requires careful selection of homes and careful supervision of the children after they have been placed. Various studies cited by Rogers tend to show "there is no type of behavior which cannot be treated in the foster home environment." Such treatment has the further advantage that it is from 30 to 40 per cent cheaper than the average institution. Yet probably because of the technical skills demanded in placing and supervising children in foster homes, the use of foster home treatment is very much limited as compared with the use of institutions. Despite the fact that the foster-home-placed children studied by the Gluecks showed a very high rate of recidivism, correctional workers generally tend to emphasize other studies which show that on the whole a satisfactory life-adjustment is made by a high percentage of cases when the *cases* have been carefully selected, when the *homes* have been carefully selected, and when the *placement has been properly supervised.* Then the question naturally arises, "When should we use foster homes for treatment instead of an institution?" Rogers summarizes the criteria as follows:

On the whole, the foster home prospect should be a first offender, under 9, of sound stock, of relatively stable disposition, rejected or unhappy with his own parents, of average, dull-normal, or superior intelligence, and the placement agency should have trained workers, some with psychiatric training, with light case loads and experienced supervisors. Agency doing selective home finding and placing, carrying on education of foster parents, paying adequate board rates, carrying on intensive supervision in foster homes, visiting once a month or more is needed. Psychological and psychiatric service available both for diagnosis and treatment.[18]

The Institution in the Correctional Cycle

The first juvenile reformatory in the United States, as we have noted, was the House of Refuge on Randall's Island, New

[17] Cf. Carl R. Rogers, *Clinical Treatment of the Problem Child,* Boston, 1939, p. 166.

[18] Carl R. Rogers, *Clinical Treatment of the Problem Child,* p. 98. This and following quotations reprinted by permission of the publishers, Houghton Mifflin Company.

York City, opened in 1825. In 1939, it was estimated that there were 125 public and private juvenile correctional training institutions. Of these, 107 were state institutions, 53 for boys, 46 for girls, and 8 caring for both; and the remainder were county, municipal, and private institutions.[19] These institutions ranged in population from about 50 to more than 900. A survey by the Delinquency Division of the United States Children's Bureau as of January 1, 1938, reaching 112 state schools, including two in Hawaii, the National Training School for Boys in Washington, D. C., a federal institution, and the National Training School for Girls (District of Columbia institution), found in reports from 95 institutions 46,999 boys and girls ranging from 6 to 21 under the jurisdiction of these training schools. Resident in the schools were 14,685 boys and 7837 girls; non-resident but under the jurisdiction of the schools were 18,243 boys and 6234 girls. Figures indicate an increase of 1313 in the total population of some 87 schools which were included in the federal census, December 31, 1933, and also in the Children's Bureau Census of 1938. Of the children living in the schools January 1, 1938, 79 per cent had been committed for the first time. Fourteen per cent had previously been in the schools and had been returned, following release. About one-fifth of both the boys and girls in these institutions were at the modal age of sixteen.

THE PRESSURE OF OLD METHODS

What is the general character of these institutions, and what do they accomplish for the boys and girls exposed to them? The picture ranges all the way from rigid regimentation in many state schools to careful attempts to study the needs of individual boys and girls and to devise methods of treatment which will meet these needs. The most comprehensive description and appraisal of such institutions available is the study of Bowler and Bloodgood, published in 1935 and 1936. Although dealing with practices which were already several years in the past at the time of the publication of the report, the study reveals enough rigidity in institutional procedures to indicate that whatever may be the contemporary practice of the particular institutions reported on,

[19] See *Social Work Year Book*, New York, 1939, p 206.

the facts probably still apply to the great majority of the institutions in the United States.[20]

The picture of what happens in an old fashioned "reform school" is hardly encouraging.

The boy who is brought to this school immediately after court hearing, by a sheriff or probation officer, first is asked a few questions by the clerk, then is taken to the quartermaster to receive the uniform which will make him undistinguishable from the other 990 boys in the school, and then has his hair clipped off. It would be difficult to imagine more effective means of submerging the individual boy, with his individual problems, his fear, his rebellion, and his worries, into the mass.

Following two weeks in the receiving cottage the boy is assigned, on the basis of age and size and with no regard to his problems or attitudes, to a "cottage" composed of 70 to 90 boys with a married couple in charge. From this point on almost every aspect of life is routinized and regimented. The groups are up at 6 A.M. Setting-up exercises are followed by breakfast, which according to observers the boys "entered in military line, going to their places and taking their seats on signal in complete silence. They then said grace in unison before the signal to begin eating was given."[21] This is the regular procedure for all meals. In addition to seven hours per day of school and shop training under poorly qualified instructors, there is a period of military drill each day. Everywhere the boys go they march, "long, silent shuffling lines of boys marching two-by-two about the grounds." In the evening the boys are permitted to read or play games, but there is no talking observed above a whisper. Usually a goodly proportion of the boys are "on line," simply standing on the side of the room as punishment, unable to talk or take part in any activities. For more serious offenses the time is lengthened that the boy must "serve," or corporal punishment may be administered.

As month after month of this automaton existence goes on, minor irritations add themselves to the major ones. Much of the discipline is carried on by boy officers, monitors, who are often poorly chosen, and who in any event are very likely to use their position as a means of bullying and intimidating the others. In one such institution they are known as "P.C.'s," "privileged characters." Added to their authoritative demands, which are often unfair, is the fact that the boy has nothing which he can feel is his own. He sleeps in a large dormitory.

[20] See Alida C. Bowler and Ruth S. Bloodgood, *Institutional Treatment of Delinquent Boys,* Washington, 1935, 1936: Part I, "Treatment Programs of Five State Institutions," Children's Bureau, Publication No. 228; Part II, "A Study of 751 Boys," Children's Bureau, Publication No. 230.

[21] *Ibid.,* p. 191.

His clothes are institution clothes. His mail, both incoming and out-going, is read by institution clerks. He does not even have a locker in which to keep personal possessions. Only in the too-brief periods for sports and athletics is there the slightest possibility of genuine freedom of expression. It is not surprising that the observers remark that "little or no spontaneous conversation and laughter were observed at any time about the grounds." Neither is it surprising that they noted "some-thing about the expression on the faces of the boys, sullenness and sometimes fear or hate," which indicated the tensions they were under.

After nine to eighteen months of such regimentation the boy is ready for parole. No home visit is made, though a perfunctory inquiry is made about the home. No arrangements are made for returning to school or entering a job. The chaplain talks to groups of boys who are leaving and urges them to affiliate with a church. The superintendent also talks to the group and urges them to maintain good records. The boy is re-leased on parole, going back to the very environment from which he came. He is now one of 300 boys, scattered over a large section of the state, who report to one parole officer, an individual with no prepara-tion for this type of work. If, during the year following his release, the boy maintains occasional contacts with the parole officer and if he re-mains undetected in any delinquency, he is discharged. He has com-pleted a period of institutional treatment.[22]

NEWER WAYS OF DOING IT

Between that old-fashioned pattern of regimentation and the highly individualized treatment procedures of such institutions as Children's Village at Dobbs Ferry, the State Agricultural and Industrial School at Peterson, New York, the Training School for Girls at Hudson, New York, the Berkshire Farm School at Canaan, New York, the Warwick State School at Warwick, New York, the Whittier State School at Whittier, California, the State Home for Boys, Jamesburg, New Jersey, and the Sleighton Farm School for Girls, Darlington, Pennsylvania, there are no doubt all possible shades of gradation. But the old ideal of regimenta-tion and congregate training dies hard.

"Best practice" in the more advanced institutions tends to approximate the organization of the community. Cottage homes, where children live in small groups with a cottage father and

[22] Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 112, summarizing Bowler and Bloodgood's description of the routine at the Boys' Industrial School, Lancaster, Ohio. Procedures at this school were brought up to date by reforms in 1940.

mother, approximate home life. The child goes out from his cottage home to school, to the library, the work shop, the gymnasium, and the play field. He belongs to clubs, pursues a hobby, and may take part in Boy Scout activities, a glee club, or dramatics. Some institutions such as the Starr Commonwealth at Albion, Michigan, even encourage participation by their boys in community activities "off the campus."

Schools with individualized programs conduct a careful study of the child during his first week in care, a study of his mental ability, a record of his development, and various tests to determine academic and vocational skills. Experts pool their information and plan future treatment. Later their reports on the progress of the child come back to the planning committee. As the time approaches for the child to be returned to the community, reconstructive efforts will be directed toward the home environment from which he was taken. In the great majority of institutions, however, practically nothing of this kind is attempted. In the more advanced institutions the prospective parolee is gradually given more freedom and responsibility as the time of his release approaches. In the old-fashioned institution such cases are released on parole, which is a more or less perfunctory policing function and may be performed by a special parole officer or by some local official who merely checks on several hundred children from time to time. In the Michigan study referred to above, it was found that one county averaged *five years per report* on each case on parole from an institution in the same county! In the more advanced states, after-care has come to mean a service of helpfulness to the child returning to the community. Its effectiveness depends, of course, upon the adequacy of the staff available. "In some states after-care is taken care of by a parole department, while in others it is carried on by the probation officers of the community court."[23]

APPRAISING THE INSTITUTION

What does all this institutional treatment, which may range in cost from $240 per boy per year in the most regimented institution to more than $900 per boy per year in highly individualized

[23] Harold S. Strong, "Juvenile Training School," *Social Work Year Book,* 1939, p. 209.

institutions—what does it all accomplish? Again there are no scientific appraisals. There are only descriptive studies of the results as they have occurred. The most comprehensive of these is the Children's Bureau study referred to above.

Reporting on 623 boys released from correctional institutions in five states—California, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, and Ohio—this study found that 200, or 32 per cent, were "successfully adjusted" five years after release; 203, or 33 per cent, were doubtfully well adjusted; and 220, or 35 per cent, were definitely unadjusted. In other words, *in 68 per cent of the cases institutional treatment (plus several years of post-institutional experience) had not completely overcome delinquent tendencies.* The evidence seems to be clear that institutionalized delinquents, representing as they do the failures of all other correctional agencies, contribute after release more than their "normal" (1 per cent) share of further delinquents. Even when allowances are made for our inability to compare the delinquency rate of correctional school graduates with the delinquency rate of average non-institutionalized boys of the same age, anti-social tendencies, intelligence, and social status, it is probable that the institutional alumni contribute several times their proportionate share of apprehended law-breakers.

WHY INSTITUTIONS FAIL

Why do institutions fail so often to modify conduct? For at least six reasons:

1. *Institutions get their cases after everybody else has failed and the child has had a long habituation in anti-social behavior.* On the average, the 623 boys studied by the Children's Bureau reached the correctional school at the age of thirteen years, eight and four-tenths months.

2. *The cases remain in the correctional schools less than two years and many of them only one.* Hence, the institution has for changing anti-social attitudes and habits from one-thirteenth to one-sixth of the time that other agencies have had for creating such attitudes and habits.

3. *The institutional inmates themselves are slow learners.* The Children's Bureau study found three-fourths of its institutional cases had been retarded in school before commitment, and 71

per cent were either dull-normal or actually feeble-minded. A
sample of 114 cases released from the Michigan Boys' Vocational
School was found to have an average intelligence quotient of
83.3. Eighty-two whites in this sample averaged only 84.[24] All of
which indicates that on top of deep-seated anti-social habits and
the brief period of correctional treatment, the boys themselves
are likely to acquire new attitudes and new habits less readily
than average boys of the same age.[25]

4. *Institutional reeducation is highly formalized and external,
and fails to reach the emotional difficulties of the inmates.* Psycho-
logical and psychiatric treatment is woefully inadequate and
usually lacking altogether.[26]

5. *Inmates themselves usually carry on an informal but none
the less powerful counter-adjustive process of their own tending
to strengthen and perpetuate anti-social behavior.* They talk over
their exploits, rationalize anti-social behavior, glorify the delin-
quent. It is naïve to imagine that all experiences in a correctional
institution are corrective. Some are definitely maladjustive or
anti-social.

6. *Most institutions do little or nothing to modify the anti-
social pressures of the home environment to which the parolee
returns.* Comparative figures are lacking, but in the federal study
referred to above only one institution out of the five, the one at
Industry, New York, had a comprehensive pre-parole and parole
follow-up program. New Jersey was making progress in that di-
rection and California recognized the need but lacked an ade-
quate staff. Michigan and Ohio were doing nothing except to
notify local officials when a boy was eligible for release. It is not

[24] Lowell Juilliard Carr, *What's Wrong with Juvenile Probation and Parole
in Michigan?* State Welfare Department, Lansing, 1936.

[25] This, of course, is an assumption based on the belief that the kind of
learning (mainly symbolical) that is measured by the usual mental tests is the
same kind that is involved in acquiring new attitudes and social habits.
Experimental data are lacking on this point. It may be that emotional condi-
tioning can occur at a different rate than symbolical learning even in the
same personality. It is even possible that excessively rapid emotional condi-
tioning may retard or inhibit symbolical learning, as seems to be the case in
certain forms of pseudo-feeble-mindedness.

[26] Bowler and Bloodgood, *Institutional Treatment of Delinquent Boys,*
Part I, "Treatment Programs of Five State Institutions," Children's Bureau,
Publication No. 228, 1935.

unlikely that these contrasts typify the situation in American correctional practice.

Thus with long habituation, brevity of treatment, dullness of learning, feebleness of reeducation, definite counter-education, and failure to modify the anti-social pressures of the environment all working *against* the success of correctional treatment, the high percentage of continued delinquencies among the graduates is not to be wondered at. The thing that needs explaining is rather the cases that do reform.

The Need of Prevention

We have referred to various studies of the effects of probation and of institutional treatment. The most scientific attempt that has yet been made to appraise the entire correctional cycle as such is the study by the Gluecks, *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents*.[27] Checking up on 1000 cases five years after they had been handled by the Boston Juvenile Court and the Judge Baker Foundation Clinic, the Gluecks found that 85 per cent had continued their delinquencies during those years.[28] On the hopeful side, they later pointed out that the proportion of non-delinquents had risen from .7 of one per cent to 14.6 per cent, a twenty-fold increase. During a second five-year follow-up period they found that 66 per cent of the 877 boys of known records had been arrested, and at the end of a third five-year period, i.e., fifteen years after the original hearing, of the 846 boys of known records, 57.9 per cent had still been arrested one or more times in five years. The average number of arrests in this third period was 3.78, and the offenders now averaged twenty-nine years in age.[29] Only 109 of the original 1000 had been non-delinquents throughout the three follow-up periods while 226 were serious offenders and 88 were minor offenders throughout.

The Gluecks concluded that the natural process of physical, mental, and emotional maturation, regardless of the age at which it occurs, is the most important factor in reformation of conduct. From their evidence the correctional cycle as such seems to have little effect on the outcome. Thus, the correctional cycle itself—

[27] Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Cambridge, 1934.

[28] First announced as 88 per cent, later corrected to 85. See *Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up*, New York, 1940.

[29] *Ibid.*, chap. xxii.

not merely the police or the juvenile court or the clinic or proba-
tion or institutional treatment, but the whole correctional cycle
itself—is "put on the spot" as a highly inefficient method of con-
trolling anti-social behavior deviations. If nearly *nine-tenths* of
the children treated by one of the best juvenile courts and
guidance clinics in the United States in the early 1920's—on a
level probably not yet attained by the majority of the juvenile
courts in 1940—if these could still continue their anti-social be-
havior, clearly something more than *prevalent* correctional prac-
tices would seem to be needed.

So just as the reformers of the early nineteenth century were
driven back from the adult prison to the juvenile "prison," which
ultimately became the reform school, the correctional school, and
then the school for maladjusted children; and just as the be-
lievers in institutional treatment were ultimately driven to set
up a new court to attack the problem in a different way, and
then the court had to seek help from the psychiatric clinic, so
*modern reappraisals of all these efforts drive us still back one
further step toward the beginning of deviant behavior.* It is not
enough to *treat.* Inefficient as the actual procedures in the cor-
rectional cycle may be, there seems to be little prospect that they
can ever be made efficient enough to do the whole job that is
needed. Back behind the personality that has broken the law
there is always an *earlier* phase of that same personality that has
just begun to deviate. Back even behind that there are *home and
neighborhood and community conditions that have determined
that incipient deviation.* It is to these beginning deviations and
ultimately to these determining conditions that the technology of
control must now address itself.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What are the defects in the treatment personnel and facilities avail-
   able to the great majority of the juvenile court judges in the
   United States?
2. What remedies have been proposed?
3. In what ways is a probation officer similar to and in what ways is
   he different from (a) the social case worker? (b) the law-enforcement
   officer?
4. What is a probation officer supposed to do?

5. How was juvenile probation financed and administered in Michigan in 1935?
6. What were the outstanding defects of this system?
7. What percentage of the cases studied in six counties had succeeded on probation? How does this compare with Dr. Beard's findings?
8. If a recidivist (repeater) in those six Michigan counties was placed on probation what were his chances of success as compared with a non-recidivist? (See Figure 23.)
9. What percentage of successful probationers in these counties were recidivists?
10. Why did neither of these studies really measure the effects of probation as such?
11. Should a 12-year-old recidivist be placed in a foster home? Why?
12. How many children are usually resident in correctional institutions in states and territories under the jurisdiction of the United States?
13. When a child is released from one of these institutions what are the chances that he will return?
14. What are the two contrasting extremes in methods of treatment in these institutions?
15. What percentage of children treated in institutions make successful adjustments?
16. Why do institutions fail in their treatment?
17. What is the effectiveness of the entire correctional cycle as evaluated by the Gluecks? Why?
18. What is the significance of the fact that the Glueck study appraised practices carried on from 12 to 18 years before the study appeared?
19. What general conclusion can be drawn from studies appraising the effectiveness of *treatment* of adjudged delinquents as a method of delinquency control?

Chapter IX

The Child with Behavior Problems

The subject matter of this chapter is the technology of (1) discovering, (2) diagnosing, (3) treating, and (4) preventing deviant behavior trends in children.

<div align="center">DISCOVERING DEVIANT BEHAVIOR TRENDS</div>

Readjustive agencies in most communities do not swing into action until a child has become a *nuisance*. This has been brought out time and again as, for example, in a 1937 report on Jacksonville, Florida.

> Another assumption justified by the facts is that social problems become agency cases only after the situation is severe enough to have a nuisance value, causing the client to apply for service or someone to refer him to an agency. The data show that even then the application is for the most part in terms of obvious needs such as economic assistance, medical treatment, or care for children.[1]

This definitely points to a need of securing readjustive action for deviant children while they are still in the "problem" stage of maladjustment.

What "sources of discovery" might a community utilize? The Jacksonville report suggests the following:

1. The schools.
2. The hospitals.
3. The nursing association.
4. The leisure-time agencies.
5. The police department.
6. "Case finders" attached to case working and health agencies

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[1] *Juvenile Delinquency in Duval County*, provisional report published by the Council of Social Agencies, Jacksonville, and used as the basis of Bulletin No. 93, *Organizing the Community for Delinquency Prevention*, Community Chests and Councils, Inc., New York. Quotation from p. 77, Jacksonville report, as quoted in Bulletin No. 93, p. 13.

—individuals charged with the responsibility of *looking for* the records of juvenile behavior maladjustments accumulated by other agencies, particularly by the schools and the medical social workers.

In addition, physicians and properly educated parents might also serve as sources of discovery.

What methods would these individuals and agencies use?

Recognition of problem behavior requires either (1) a certain amount of familiarity with the principles of mental hygiene, or (2) the use of especially prepared "instruments of discovery" which any reasonably observant person can use.

Deviant Behavior as a Symptom of Maladjustment.—The discovery that overt delinquency is frequently preceded during a period ranging from months to years by less serious deviant behavior is one of the most important that has been made in the whole field of crime control in recent years. Among the leaders in applying new psychiatric insights to the discovery of potential delinquents have been Healy, Bronner, Haggerty, Olson, and Wickman.

What behavior is indicative of an inadequate adjustment situation? Police suggest *unusual* behavior—sudden prosperity in a child from a poverty home, unexpected academic failures, etc. For clinical purposes a check-list would include over forty terms such as: restlessness; excitability; "nervousness"; boastfulness; sensitiveness; worrisomeness; dull, slow manner; selfishness; changes in personality; depressed or discouraged attitude; bedwetting (beyond early age); absent-mindedness; daydreaming; shyness; seclusiveness; failure to adjust with other children; preference for younger children; disobedience; temper display; incorrigibility; fighting; quarrelsomeness; swearing; stealing; lying; truancy from home; truancy from school; begging; association with bad companions; sex misbehavior; acts of violence; physical complaints; nail-biting; convulsive attacks; sleeping sickness; speech defects; retardation in reading; retardation in school; advancement in school; exclusion from school; exceptional brightness; slowness in learning to do things.

Some of these terms—"restlessness," "daydreaming," "temper display," and so on—refer to *behavior* which in itself is symptomatic of emotional maladjustment. Others, like "retardation in

school," "exceptional brightness," "exclusion from school," and the like, refer to *conditions* which frequently either occasion emotional trouble or result from it. Anyone with an elementary understanding of the psychology of adjustment will readily recognize the danger signals of emotional distress. But unfortunately many parents, teachers, and physicians have no such understanding. This results from the fact that the great bulk of the work upon which the modern psychology of adjustment rests—the work of Charcot, Freud, Adler, Jung, Healy, and their successors—dates from the years following 1880 and has diffused very slowly to the laity. Hence to rely on the great majority of homes, schools, and medical practitioners to discover the maladjustments of children before those children became actual misfits was still in 1940 virtually to ignore the problem. From this we can understand why during the 1920's Haggerty, Olson, and others went to work to devise techniques by which any ordinary teacher might function as a discovery agent for problem children in her community.

Instruments of Discovery.—The problem was to provide for ordinary persons, untrained in mental hygiene or psychiatry, techniques and devices by which attention might be directed to significant symptoms of maladjustment. A study by Wickman found that teachers tend to emphasize violations of classroom discipline, on which psychiatrists place little emphasis, while they underrate such traits as daydreaming, withdrawing behavior, and the like, which psychiatrists regard as highly significant of emotional maladjustments.[2]

Six methods may be used for discovering problem behavior: (1) Direct observation of "symptoms"; (2) ratings by teachers; (3) ratings based on a child's reputation with his playmates—the "guess who" technique; (4) questionnaires; (5) information or conduct tests; and (6) appraisal of correlated conditions.

Direct observation employs a number of methods of record: (a) the nomination method; (b) the problem record log; (c) the behavior journal; and (d) rating scales.

a. *Nomination Methods.*—Every teacher who sends a child to the principal for correction uses a form of nomination method.

[2] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes,* New York, 1928.

It is usually based, however, on the teacher's reaction to the child's "nuisance value." A refinement of the method is to ask the teacher to nominate the children in her room who show certain specific behavior deviations, or more generally, to name a given number or percentage of her "worst" pupils. On page 207 is shown one of the nomination forms used by Dr. Willard B. Olson in making a problem child survey in Ann Arbor in 1934. As Dr. Olson explained in his report to President Ruthven's Treatment Planning Committee which sponsored the survey, "The nomination plan was adopted as a rapid survey method for securing a list of serious cases in an economical manner. It was definitely a compromise for a more desirable but more expensive survey which was secured later for all children. Records for 153 boys and 84 girls were taken from a survey of 1223 boys and 1191 girls in the kindergarten and first six grades."[3]

"The average problem tendency scores for the nominees are those which have been found to be typical in other studies of children who are in the juvenile courts or who have been in a child guidance clinic. The children secured by Nomination Plan A and Nomination Plan B are quite similar to each other. If the child is nominated under both methods, he is likely to have an unusually high problem tendency score."

These facts are brought out by the curve prepared by Dr. Olson and shown on page 187.

b. *The Problem Log.*—Another method of recording a child's problem behavior is to keep a card record for each child of each problem as it comes up. A copy of such a record log card, as used by Dr. Olson in Ann Arbor, is given on page 208. The problem record log tends to break the child's behavior down into traits and social situations. At best it may contribute a start toward a diagnosis. Commenting on this in the Ann Arbor survey Dr. Olson said:

It would appear that a large area of behavior problems occurs at the

[3] In other words; 12.5 per cent of the boys included in the survey and 7.0 per cent of the girls were nominated as children with problems. The percentages are meaningless here because of the method of securing the nominations, each teacher having been asked to name two boys and one girl. But each nominee was then scored on the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale (page 187) and the scores do have meaning, as Dr. Olson points out.

time when children are on their own responsibility but expected to be mindful of general agreement concerned with their behavior. Thus, problems occur in great number in relation to the regulation governing the noon recess period. Another group of problems is concerned with

FIGURE 24.—HOW PROBLEM TENDENCIES COMPARE

Per Cent
Problem Cases vs. Normals
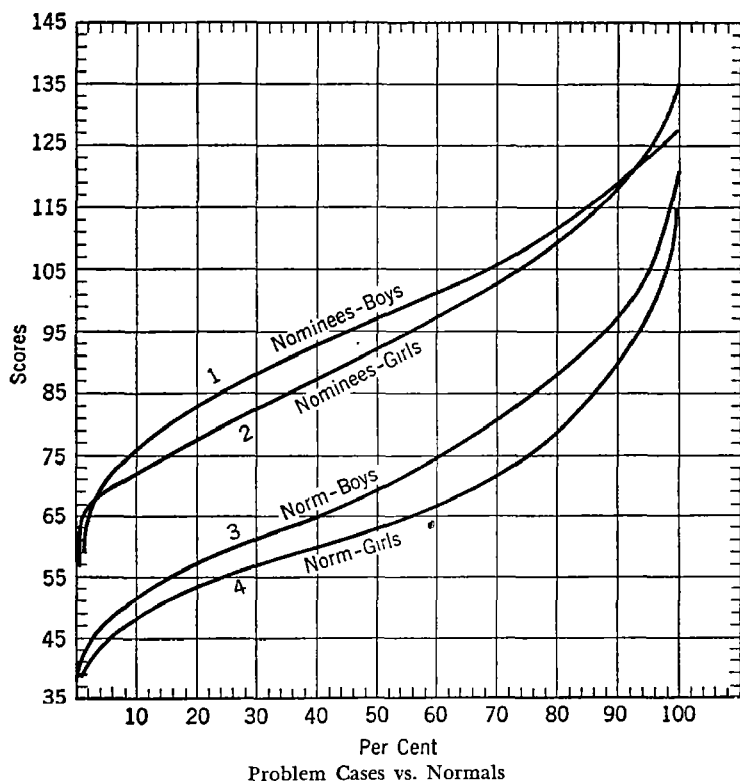
Problem boys (1) and problem girls (2) in the Ann Arbor survey (1935) ranked distinctly higher in maladjustment scores than do average boys (3) and average girls (4), as measured by the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Scales.

the general movement of pupils in the corridors of the school and the violation of traffic rules where student control plans are operated. Another series of situations was around the assembly where individuals or smaller social units are combined into larger aggregations. In a sense opportunities for social learning are correlated with opportunities for social breakdown.

c. *The Behavior Journal.*—Obviously the nomination method and the problem behavior log focus attention on anti-social behavior. In other words, they encourage a negative approach to the child's personality. To offset this the teacher may be asked to keep a behavior journal.

The behavior journal is designed for the maintenance of a chronological record of the significant items of behavior concerning the child, together with recommendations and records of steps taken in planning the subsequent progress. Several investigations suggest that one of the valuable methods of locating children who are problems, or potential problems, is simply to keep a chronological record of the type of behavior which calls for special investigating on the part of workers in the school. This natural history approach gradually defines the nature and extent of the problem. Such a record has the further advantage of offering many possibilities for use by principals, teachers, and others, since the continuative record forms an excellent basis for interviews with the child or parent, and planning definite work.[4]

A sample form of the behavior journal as used in the Ann Arbor study is shown at the end of the chapter.

d. *Rating Scales.*—The nomination method, the problem behavior log and the behavior journal all direct attention to deviant behavior traits but they do not give any quantitative measure of the degree of the deviant behavior. To meet the desire for more quantitative statements, various forms of rating scales have been devised. In general, a distinction may be drawn between (1) the descriptive rating scale and (2) the analytical rating scale.

(1) The descriptive scale simply assigns a series of numbers to groups of personality traits and asks the teacher to assign to each pupil the number designating that pupil's traits. An example of this type of scale is the Olson Scale for Rating Personal Characteristics, a copy of which appears at the end of the chapter.

The Olson rating scale has been found very useful is enabling school executives and teachers to make a quick survey of their problem load at a time-cost of only a few minutes for each teacher. The results of using this scale in every schoolroom in a typical agricultural county in southern Michigan in 1938 are

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[4] "The Behavior Journal, Manual of Directions," arranged by Willard C. Olson, director of research in child development, University of Michigan, for President Ruthven's Treatment Planning Committee, Ann Arbor.

FIGURE 25.—DEVIANT BEHAVIOR IN A MICHIGAN COUNTY

LOCATION OF MALADJUSTED CHILDREN
IN
CLINTON COUNTY
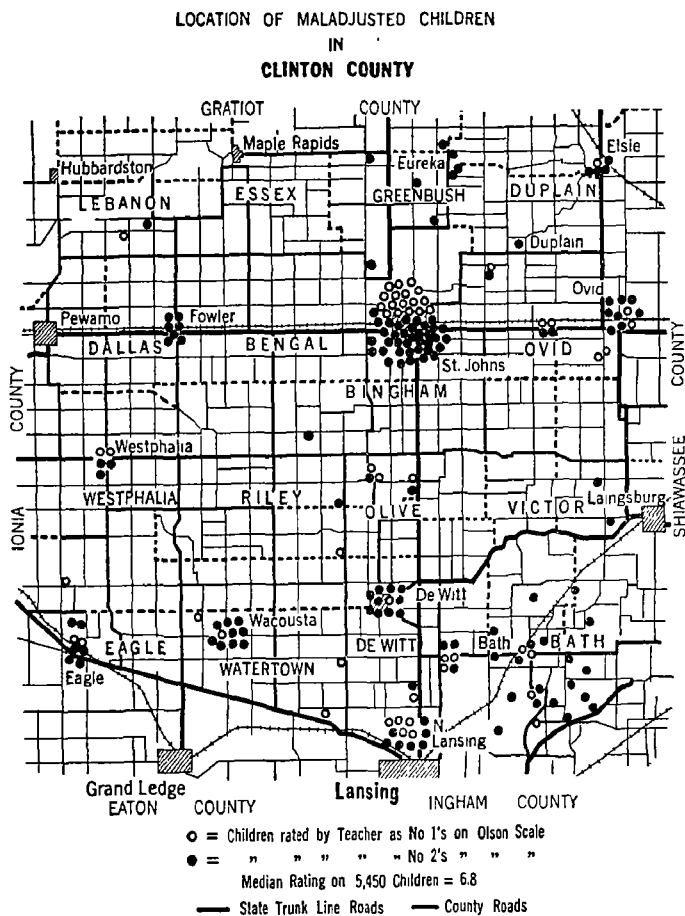
Problem Cases in a Rural Setting

Three per cent, or 184 out of 5,450 children in the most typically rural county in Michigan, Clinton County, scored 1 or 2 on a maladjustment scale of 9 points. The median score for the 5,450 was 6.8. The clusters on the map are mainly due to concentrations of population, the largest cluster being in the county seat, St. Johns, a small city of approximately 4,000 people.

shown in the accompanying map of the location of maladjusted children in Clinton County. Five thousand four hundred and fifty children were rated by all the teachers in the county. The median rating was 6.8. In other words, the median child in Clinton County approximates the child described under No. 7 on this scale. (See page 210.)

This child is neat in his personal appearance; he generally makes a favorable impression on others in regard to his physique and bearing. He can hold his own with other children on a physical basis and has an average physical output of energy. He rarely shows fatigue. He upholds his end of talk. He is inclined to have very rigid standards of behavior even to the extent of bending backward. He actively seeks social pleasures, though he is somewhat frequently embarrassed. He tends to accept all authority. He conforms willingly and is very courteous. He is somewhat assertive and will comment on outstanding weaknesses or faults of others. He is happy or depressed as the conditions warrant. He is generally cheerful, friendly, and cordial. He is inclined to be easy-going. He rarely blows up in unpleasant situations. He is cooperative in a discussion of his problems. His emotions are slowly aroused. He is rather easily persuaded. As a rule he acts with reasonable care.

At the lower end of the scale, however, 499, or over 9 per cent, rated 1, 2 or 3; 184, or approximately 3 per cent, rated 1 or 2, and 54, or about 1 per cent, rated 1. The map shows the distribution of the 3-per-cent rating 1 or 2. These children were badly maladjusted and unless they received help were almost certain to appear in the juvenile court or in mental institutions in far greater numbers than the median children of their age and social class.

(2) The second, or analytical, type of rating scale is represented by such a check list as that prepared by Dr. Howard McClusky of the University of Michigan for a survey of Branch County in 1937-38, and by the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale. Dr. McClusky's list contained ninety-four items divided into five groups: irregularity in attendance, social maladjustment, defective home conditions, physical abnormalities, and miscellaneous. Teachers were asked to "nominate" children who seemed to have characteristics listed and then for each child to check the traits which best characterized that child and to double check outstanding traits. Sixty-four per cent of the teachers of the

county, reporting on a total enrollment of 3363, rated 11.9 per cent of their children as children with problems. Five towns and villages averaged 9.3 per cent while sixteen rural townships averaged 17.2 per cent.[5]

Another widely used measuring device of this sort is the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale which has been standardized on more than 1500 boys and girls in 15 Minneapolis schools. This instrument consists of two parts—Schedule A, a behavior problem record, and Schedule B, a behavior rating scale. Schedule A presents a list of 15 behavior problems ranging from disinterest in school work, cheating, and unnecessary tardiness, to sex offenses, stealing, truancy, and the production of obscene notes, talk, or pictures. Each of these various types of problem behavior has presumably had a certain frequency of occurrence, so the rater is asked to indicate whether it has "never occurred," "has occurred once or twice but no more," "has had occasional occurrence," or "frequent occurrence." Each of these frequencies carries a numbered score. The top score on all 15 problems would be 210. Seven hundred ninety-eight boys in the first grade in Minneapolis averaged 11.7 (median) and 739 girls, 5.2. Two hundred and nine boys and 331 girls scored 0.

Schedule B consists of 25 questions, each broken into a scale of 5 points. In 15 Minneapolis schools the mean scores of 798 boys and 739 girls in the first grade on Schedule B were 72.8 and 66.2 respectively, with standard deviations of 18.4 and 15.8, respectively.

The highest possible score on Schedule B would be 175. Therefore "normal" maladjustment relative to total maladjustment would seem to average 40.6 per cent for boys and 38.0 per cent for girls.

As an instrument for the discovery of behavior cases the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale may helpfully be used to supplement the Olson rating scale mentioned above. The Olson scale enables the teacher very quickly to indicate the problem-child situation in her room. Only one scale sheet is needed per teacher. The Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Scale can then

[5] Field study by Charles Z. Braidwood on Research Fellowship, Michigan Child Guidance Institute, 1938.

be applied to the children who are rated 1, 2, or 3 on the Olson scale. Each child requires a separate H.O.W. rating sheet.

So much for the technique of the discovery of children with problems. The next question is diagnosis and prescription of treatment.

DIAGNOSING CHILDREN'S PROBLEMS AND PRESCRIBING TREATMENT

The cultural agency developed for the specific purpose of diagnosing deviant behavior and planning treatment is the child guidance clinic. In 1932 only 232 whole or part-time clinics were known to the National Committee for Mental Hygiene.[6]

In 1935 the National Committee found 617 community clinics that accepted children, but the percentage of children accepted was unknown. The total in-take capacity of these clinics was about 100,000 new cases a year.[7] In 1939 there were approximately 650 communities in 34 different states that received the services of one or more child guidance clinics. Twenty clinics were integral parts of local school systems.[8] A full-time clinic with one psychiatrist, one psychologist, two or three social workers and the necessary office staff costs about $20,000 a year and can handle between 300 and 400 new cases in 12 months.

We have already seen that on a conservative estimate there are from 675,000 to 1,200,000 children with problems in the nation's schools at any given time. If the American people, therefore, were suddenly to decide that the adjustment of youthful behavior is as important as book-learning, we should have to multiply our existing child guidance facilities many times to reach all cases in one year, and each year new cases of maladjustment would continue to appear.

The theory and procedures of child guidance clinics have been described by Healy, Schroeder, Witmer, and others.[9]

[6] See George S. Stevenson and Geddes Smith, *Child Guidance Clinics*, New York, 1934, p. 167.

[7] See Helen Leland Witmer, *Psychiatric Clinics for Children*, New York, 1940, p. 56.

[8] Elise H. Martens, *Clinical Organization for Child Guidance Within the Schools*, United States Department of the Interior, Office of Education, Bulletin No. 15, Washington, 1939, p. 66.

[9] See William Healy, *The Individual Delinquent*, Boston, 1915; William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking*, New York, 1926; William Healy, Augusta F. Bronner,

Essentially the guidance clinic represents an attempt to assemble, appraise, and utilize all reliable information the physical, social, psychological and emotional condition of a child. It functions by synthesizing the contributions of many experts to produce a "picture" of the whole child. Medical men examine the child's physical condition; psychiatric social workers describe and evaluate his social situation, his home, and the emotional relationships within that home psychologists determine his mental level, his aptitudes and limitations. Most important of all, his emotional condition, his conflicts and tensions, are opened up by the psychiatrist. Some clinics like the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago place considerable emphasis on the study of a child's recreational life. Obviously a thorough clinical study is not a matter of a few hours. It's a matter of days and weeks. But when all the evidence is in, the clinical staff pools the different points of view in a case conference, out of which issues an interpretation and an analysis of the various causal factors that seem to underlie the child's deviant behavior. On the basis of this analysis recommendations are made.

The ordinary diagnostic clinic does not go beyond this point. The recommendations are turned over to the referring individual or agency, and the clinic goes on to another case.

But before we discuss the techniques of treatment some attention should be paid to the fact that most of the diagnosing of problem behavior that is actually being done in the United States *is being done outside of clinics*. It is being done by attendance officers, teachers, probation officers, law-enforcement officers. An important question arises, therefore, whether clinical workers should continue in the main to ignore this, or whether they should try in some way to assist. Probably the first clinic in the country to try to function through laymen was the California Bureau of Juvenile Research, which in 1928 began to encourage teachers to study their own problem cases and to make practical diagnoses and tentative plans of treatment. The school child

E. Baylor, and J. P. Murphy, *Reconstructing Behavior in Youth*, New York, 1929; Paul L. Schroeder, *Child Guidance Procedures*, New York, 1937; Mary Augusta Clark, *Recording and Reporting for Child Guidance Clinics*, New York, 1930; Helen Leland Witmer, *Psychiatric Clinics for Children*, New York, 1940.

guidance conference grew out of the realization on the part of the traveling Child Guidance Clinic Service in that state that the demand for the clinical study of problem children would greatly exceed the facilities of the bureau.

The discussion of children and their problems is a customary feature of school practice. Child guidance conference involved nothing new except the administrative plan. It is essentially a systematic means of doing effectively and logically what perhaps is already being done. It assures the principal of one fairly long conference at which there will be an orderly presentation of all the facts and viewpoints regarding the problem child, instead of a series of haphazard individual conferences with the parents and the teachers of the child. The average time of the conference is about an hour, with a range from 20 minutes to one hour and a half, depending upon the seriousness and complexity of the child's problems.[10]

The child guidance conference attempts to do two things: first, to obtain as much information as possible about the child; and second, to interpret these findings and to formulate a plan for the child's adjustment as a result of a group discussion of the case.[11] A social history may be taken by the person most directly available—the school nurse, the teacher, the principal, the attendance officers. A physical examination is ordered by the family or school physician. In California the bureau found that when dealing with children from indigent families local practitioners were frequently willing to volunteer their services for the examinations. This is a matter of some delicacy, however, which for each community must be thoroughly worked out with the local medical profession. Psychological and educational tests may easily be given by trained workers in the larger school systems, and even in smaller systems someone is usually available who has had experience in the administration of testing material. The personal interview with the child should be conducted, according to California practice, by someone "familiar with this phase of test work." *It is extremely important that all the different types of information be brought to a common table and discussed by all the persons interested in the child.* There is frequently a peculiar

10 See Norman Fenton, *State Child Guidance Service in California,* W.P.A., Project 3257, Sacramento, California, 1938, p. 86.
11 *Op. cit.,* p. 88.

reluctance on the part of many teachers and principals to pool their information about a problem child. Each one seems to feel that he or she has the answer and that a case conference is quite unnecessary. This is an unfortunate delusion which one or two well-conducted case conferences will quickly dispel.

Simple as this procedure seems, it has been found in California that from six to twelve months must be allowed to the average school staff to adjust itself to the idea, and to take up its problem cases in this cooperative way. In the ten years or so between the introduction of the idea in the state and the publication of the report, initial demonstrations were held in over 200 communities by psychologists of the California Bureau of Juvenile Research. In many of these communities the plan was continued under the direction of some person in their own group.[12]

Individual diagnosing of behavior problems is constantly being done by teachers, attendance officers, and visiting teachers. Its adequacy depends on the insight, training, and facilities available. Since a visiting teacher is a teacher with social work training (not merely a teacher who happens to visit homes), a somewhat greater competence may be expected from her than from the classroom teacher in interpreting and analyzing problem situations. Unfortunately, however, only a relatively few school systems in the United States find it possible to employ visiting teachers. These are practically all in urban areas. Since the California case conference method costs comparatively little except in time and effort, it would seem to be highly desirable to expand this type of diagnostic service.

TREATMENT

We have now pointed out some of the more important techniques of discovery and diagnosis. What about techniques for

[12] For further information on the school child guidance conference consult N. Fenton, "Administrative Aspects of a Mental Hygiene Program in the Public Schools," *School and Society*, 1932, 36: 391-394. Also N. Fenton's *Organizing a Mental Hygiene Program Through the Child Guidance Conference*, Bulletin No. 9, New Series, Sacramento, 1933, 8 pages; N. Fenton and A. D. Gray, "The Child Guidance Conference for Handling Problem Cases," *Yearbook*, Department of Elementary School Principles, 1936, 15: 567-574; and *The School Child Guidance Conference*, Michigan Child Guidance Institute and State Department of Public Instruction, 1940.

treatment? As we have indicated in a previous chapter, all tech-
niques of treatment come down essentially to three: (1) *removing
a child from a given environment*; (2) *changing the environment
itself*; and (3) *changing the child's attitude toward the environ-
ment, himself, or both*. Dr. Schroeder gives a useful classification
of the resources which guidance workers must utilize. There is
first the machinery of the law, particularly the children's courts.
A second resource is the home.

> In determining what can be done for the child in the home one has
> to consider a great many things, including the income of the family,
> the place of residence, and the abilities and emotional attitudes of
> various members. Sometimes direct advice about change in the handling
> of the child will seem to be adequate to meet his difficulties. Frequently
> emotional attitudes of one or both parents may be such that they cannot
> follow any advice which might be given, and in these cases particularly
> the staff will suggest that some sort of psycho-therapeutic influence be
> exerted on the parents. It should be made clear, however, that there is
> no sharp dividing line between psycho-therapy and the giving of
> advice.[13]

A third resource is the school. Is the child in a proper grade?
Is he getting the kind of work he needs? Is the teacher s attitude
toward him satisfactory? Is there anything that the school can
do perhaps to make up for what the home is not doing? Ques-
tions of this sort always arise about every problem case in school.
A fourth resource is the professional case-working agency—
where one exists. In such a state as Michigan in 1940, for exam-
ple, in 83 counties there were only 12 private case-working agen-
cies. These were in the following cities: Ann Arbor, Bay City,
Battle Creek, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, Lansing, Mar-
quette, Midland, Muskegon, Royal Oak, and Saginaw. In 1930
these cities had contained about 44 per cent of the state's popula-
tion. In other words, at least half of the state in 1940 had no
privately supported case-worker service. Most states of the Union
could have made no better showing. The Federal Security Pro-
gram, Aid to Dependent Children, etc., had, indeed, begun to
meet part of the need from public funds, but the federal case
workers were still too few to meet the great need that existed.
Other public case workers such as probation officers, etc., were

[13] Paul L. Schroeder, *Child Guidance Procedures*, New York, 1937, p. 152.

also nearly everywheie too few and too poorly trained. Consequently in 1940 the professionally trained case worker was still predominantly an urban phenomenon, and many cities as well as rural districts still lacked such workers.

A fifth resource listed by Dr. Schroeder is the organized recreational program in the community.

The depression made great inroads on group work programs as on everything else. By 1940, however, thanks partly to the recovery of business and partly to stimulation from the federal government, through the W.P.A. and the N.Y.A., organized recreation was showing renewed vitality in many parts of the United States.

A sixth resource is placement outside the home. This, of course, raises technical problems of home-finding, suitable preparation of the foster parents and the child, etc. We have touched on these matters in the preceding chapter.

A final resource outside of the clinic itself is institutional placement. This likewise has been discussed in a previous chapter, and need not be dealt with here.

CLINICAL RESOURCES

The clinic as a therapeutic resource is, however, extremely important for the relatively small number of children who reach a clinic. Dr. Schroeder gives a compact outline of psycho-therapy and other aids to adjustment, which will be found in the appendix to this chapter.

WHAT SHOULD TREATMENT CHANGE?

As an aid in organizing its own recommendations, a simple classification has been developed by the Michigan Child Guidance Institute in Ann Arbor. After a general interpretation of all the facts and a statement of the probable outcome of the child's present trends, recommendations are grouped under four heads:

1. Medical recommendations.
2. Recommendations affecting adjustments in the home.
3. Recommendations concerning adjustments in the school.

4. Recommendations concerning adjustments in community relationships.

How Reach the Layman?

A problem which emerges at this point but which has received little attention in the literature of child guidance clinics is the problem of communication between the clinical experts and the lay public. One criticism of guidance clinics for years from juvenile court judges, probation officers, and even physicians has been that their reports and recommendations have been written in unnecessarily technical language. Although clinical practice in treatment made a great point of requiring psychiatric social workers to "interpret" the clinic's findings to the patient and his parents, little effort was usually made in many diagnostic clinics really to interpert the clinic's results to the referring individuals and agencies. Consequently, there has been a distinct failure to communicate. The reports come in, but only a fraction of the recommendations are executed. The Gluecks in studying the Judge Baker clinic, for example, found that lack of mutual understanding between the court and the clinic was one of the great sources of inefficiency in the execution of recommendations, only 43.7 per cent of which were actually carried out. The same condition exists in many other clinics.

As a partial effort to meet this need, therefore, it has become standard practice in the clinic with which the author is most closely identified to write its report as nearly as possible in language that ordinary laymen will understand, and to *carry back* its reports in many cases to the local people themselves who are to participate in executing its recommendations. Partly as an outgrowth of its distinctly educational functions and partly as a result of experience during a number of years with President Ruthven's Treatment Planning Committee in Ann Arbor, there was established from the beginning in the procedures of the Michigan Child Guidance Institute a series of treatment planning conferences between representatives of the Institute and local individuals interested in each case. The functions and procedures of these planning conferences will be explained more in detail in a later chapter. They have proved to be invaluable instruments for translating the recommendations of the Institute

into actual concrete plans for carrying the recommendations into effect. In other words, they have made a distinct contribution to the process of communication between the expert and the layman.

A guidance clinic represents the highest mobilization of expert skills for the adjustment of problem children that has yet been achieved. The methods for carrying into effect the recommendations of these clinics are, however, as the books have shown, open to many possibilities of improvement. It is at this point that the program which has been under way in Michigan for a number of years deserves mention, but more complete consideration will be reserved to Chapter XIX.

We have said that in 1940 only a small fraction of the problem children in the United States who obviously needed treatment could possibly receive it through clinics. Consequently, many children were either going without any treatment at all or were being treated willy-nilly by their parents, by their teachers, or by various group-work leaders in their communities. Nobody knows how effective this non-professional, non-technical treatment is. The fact that the number of overt mental cases and actual law-breakers is not larger than it is in a problem and delinquency group of more than two millions suggests the possibility that, as we have already said, there may be such a thing as an innate trend toward normality. This is a matter on which the scientists and the clinical experts who see children maladjusted and at their worst may well disagree, but it is a matter that deserves investigation.

THE SCHOOLS IN CHILD GUIDANCE

In the meantime, while emphasis on character education continues to increase in many school systems, most schools are very poorly equipped for handling their problem cases.[14] In a survey which covered 110 high schools in Michigan in 1936 in communities from 5000 to 1,500,000, only 62, or 56 per cent, began the study of behavior and personality problems in the elemen-

[14] The Martens report on *Clinical Organization for Child Guidance Within the Schools,* referred to above (see p. 192, note), found that out of more than 16,598 incorporated places (1930), *only 650, or 3.9 per cent,* received the services of one or more child guidance clinics in 1939. Outside of incorporated places over a third of the nation's population had even less.

tary grades, while 18, or 16 per cent, began in the junior high level, and 10, or 9 per cent, began in the senior high level. Sixty-two, or 56 per cent, followed their cases through, and 20 followed some of them. Most high schools provided for health counseling and examinations; 76, or 69 per cent, had school nurses; 27, or 25 per cent, reported having school physicians; and 35, or 31 per cent, reported physical examinations. But again diagnostic and treatment facilities varied according to the size of the city. Detroit with an excellent psychological clinic, special schools, and special classes stood at one end of the scale and the vast majority of the small rural districts of the state stood at the other. Definite readjustive aids including deans of students, visiting teachers, mental hygiene courses, and the like were more characteristic of the larger schools, while "normality programs," such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Parent Teachers Associations, appeared more often relatively in the smaller schools. Only 14, or 12 per cent, employed visiting teachers. Six of these "visiting teachers" had had no training in social work! In fact, only 22, or 18 per cent, employed any teachers who had ever had any social work training at all. The 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection recommended one visiting teacher to every 500 pupils in school. In 1940 this would have meant in Michigan about 2000 visiting teachers, or one visiting teacher to every 20 classroom teachers, an impossible ratio. A more realistic ratio, as Carmelite Janvier remarks in the 1937 *Social Work Yearbook*, would be one visiting teacher to every 2000 pupils. Even this would mean at least a tenfold increase over the actual ratio that exists in such a state as Michigan.

Another fatal bar to the efficiency of the schools in treating behavior difficulties of children is the depression-born tendency to push up the pupil-teacher ratio. This tendency seems to bear more hardly on large communities than on small ones. In 1936, for example, in the 110 schools surveyed, 9 Detroit schools had reached 3 teachers per 100 pupils; Flint, Grand Rapids, and Lansing, cities between 80,000 and 160,000 population, averaged 3.3 per 100; while towns under 5000 averaged 3.9 teachers per 100.

We have been indicating certain treatment techniques and some of the difficulties that are impeding their utilization. The process of treating children with problems, however, involves

three other elements besides specific techniques. These are (1) *administrative responsibility*; (2) *the administering personnel*; and (3) *contacts*.

Administrative responsibility is responsibility for (a) *treating a case*, (b) *arranging the details of time, place, and facilities*, (c) *providing the personnel*, and (d) *maintaining standards*. The administering personnel consists of those persons, laymen or trained workers, who actually contact the case. Frequently, as we have suggested, in small communities administrative responsibility rests on an administering personnel of one untrained person, i.e., a person equipped with no specific techniques at all. Years of experience have demonstrated that in order to provide skillful treatment in whatever field or on whatever level there must be definite organization, specific purpose, reasonable security of financial support, continuity of policy, and trained personnel. In the great majority of American communities, for the treatment of children's behavior problems we find none of these things, neither organization, financial support, continuity of policy, nor trained personnel. Even in the great cities where they can be found, they exist (1940) in utterly inadequate volume and accessibility.

Consider the condition of the treatment facilities for problem children in thirteen southern Michigan counties outside of Wayne (Detroit) in the spring of 1938. Without attempting in any way to appraise the adequacy or effectiveness of these various types of service, many of which were provided by political appointees and utterly untrained workers, but counting only the presence or absence of a given type of service, it is apparent at once that *even on paper* facilities in these counties met only *two-thirds* of the needs (67 per cent). More significantly still, as the accompanying table shows, the services that were the weakest and least prevalent were precisely the ones *most important for adjusting problem children before they reach the juvenile courts*. These thirteen counties all had the traditional public agencies— juvenile courts, county welfare agents, and juvenile probation officers. But not one of them had a visiting housekeeper to help the poor make better budgets and better homes. Only one had any juvenile police officers devoting themselves to children's cases. Only two had any family case work agencies, and only five re-

CORRECTIONAL, PROTECTIVE, AND ADJUSTIVE SERVICES FOR CHILDREN IN 13
MICHIGAN COUNTIES, 1938[a]

Type of Service	No. Counties in Which Service Does Not Exist	Per Cent of 13 Counties *Unserved*	Actual No. Units in 13 Counties	No. Units Needed (Actual Plus Counties Unserved)	Per Cent Actual Units to Needed Units
Visiting housekeeper....	13	100.	0	13	0
Juvenile police.........	12	92.	2	14	14.
Family case work agency	11	84.	3	14	21.
Protective societies......	9	69.	4	13	30.
Out-patient clinics......	8	61.	5	13	38.
School physicians.......	8	61	8	16	50.
School dentists.........	6	46.	10	16	62.
Juvenile detention home.	4	30.	9	13	69.
School nurses..........	4	30.	39	43	90.
School health clinics....	3	23.	24	27	88.
County welfare agents...	0	0	13	13	100.
Juvenile probation officer	0	0	22[b]	22[b]	100.
Juvenile court..........	0	0	13	13	100.
Average.............	6.0	46.	11.8	17.4	67.8

[a] Hospitals, social security, supplementary, recreational, educational, and coordinating services not included in this table.

[b] Includes 8 volunteer officers. Paid juvenile probation officers in Michigan are also not required to take any qualifying examinations and are not under civil service (1940).

ceived any guidance clinic service at all *and that merely one day a month on an out-patient basis for grown-ups as well as children!* All this, in thirteen counties which in 1930 contained a child population, 10-16, inclusive, estimated at 11,958 and a *problem-child population in 1938 between 1100 and 3300!*[15] These counties are not exceptionally poor or backward. They include Oakland with a population of more than 211,000 (1930) and a city (Pontiac) of over 65,000, a county lying just north of Detroit and benefiting from many of the Detroit social services; also some of the richest fruit and farming counties in the state. These are not "backwoods" counties. They are as good as the average and better than most counties in Michigan and in the United States. Yet there they are—most of them without even the beginning of the skilled adjustive services which those

[15] See Clinton County study cited above, p. 190.

thousands of maladjusted children must have if they are to be kept out of prisons and mental hospitals.[16] Could there be any clearer evidence of the absolute necessity of viewing *social action* as an essential element in the control of delinquency?

So much for the treatment of problem children and the inadequate facilities that exist in most communities.

WHAT DOES TREATMENT ACCOMPLISH?

A number of studies bearing on the effectiveness of treatment have been reported or are under way (1940). An appraisal of the Berkeley Child Guidance Clinic reported by Elise Martens and Helen Russ found that over a two-year period the problem score of the clinical experimental group declined 20.6 per cent whereas the untreated problem group remained unchanged and the untreated non-problem cases increased slightly in problem tendencies. More significantly still, when sixty-eight problem cases were paired with sixty-eight non-problem cases the difference between the mean scores fell 53 per cent.[17]

Helen Witmer and her students, reporting on follow-up investigations covering nearly 1000 children for varying periods from one to five years following clinic treatment, found that adjustment failed in about one-fourth of the cases and that among the remaining three-fourths more than half, or about 40 per cent of the original group, were making a good community adjustment.[18]

Dr. William Healy and Dr. Augusta Bronner, reporting on 400 cases treated by the Judge Baker Clinic in Boston after a period of five to eight years found 323, or 81 per cent, of the 400 young people whose cases were accepted for treatment from March, 1931, to December, 1933, had had favorable careers. Seventy-seven, or 19 per cent, had had unfavorable careers. Anti-social cases had

[16] Data on the 13 counties collected in the field by John Ralph Graves, LL.D., research assistant, Michigan Child Guidance Institute, 1937-38. See *Directory of Adjustive Services for Children,* Michigan Child Guidance Institute publication, for each of the following counties: Allegan, Berrien, Branch, Hillsdale, Jackson, Lapeer, Lenawee, Macomb, Monroe, Muskegon, Oakland, Sanilac, St. Clair.

[17] *The Adjustment of Behavior Problems of School Children,* Office of Education, Department of Interior, Washington, 1932.

[18] Helen M. Witmer and students, *The Later Social Adjustment of Children,* a report of thirteen follow-up investigations, *Smith College Studies of Social Work,* Vol. 6, pp. 3-98, December, 1935.

given the poorest results. One hundred eighty-nine personality and behavior problems, or 91 per cent of 207 such cases, had had favorable careers while delinquents, both non-court and court delinquents, averaged only 70 per cent favorable careers.[19] These studies show that definite results can be accomplished by a fully staffed child guidance clinic.

Another study reported by Carr, Valentine, and Levy, bears on the question of what can be accomplished by the mobilization of the resources of a fairly well-equipped community *without the services of a child guidance clinic.*[20] Eighty-seven boys treated for three years and compared with 100 untreated boys of the same age and socio-economic status from the same neighborhoods showed a 33-per-cent gain over the untreated group in health. On 34 to 53 pairings which were matched for anti-social behavior scores, general non-adjustment scores, psycho-neurotic traits, socio-economic status, and I.Q. (as of 1935), the treated boys showed some net gain (or lower net loss) as compared with the untreated in 29 out of 45 comparisons, or in 64.4 per cent of the comparisons. Treated partners showed a net gain over untreated partners most frequently in anti-social behavior scores (73.3 per cent of the comparisons); less frequently in general mal-adjustments scores (66.6 per cent of the comparisons); and least frequently in psycho-neurotic traits (63.3 per cent).

In general, treatment seemed the most successful in children manifesting anti-social behavior uncomplicated by deep-rooted emotional disturbances; and children with slight psycho-neurotic tendencies; and children of below socio-economic status and in children of average intelligence.[21]

In a breakdown for age

There seemed to be some tendency for mere aging to reduce the boy's maladjustment (as for example among the untreated on every rating

[19] There was no difference between non-court and court delinquents in the percentages showing favorable outcomes. Out of 137 non-court delinquents, 95, or 70 per cent, had had favorable careers, and out of 66 court delinquents 39, or 70 per cent, had had favorable careers. See William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *Treatment and What Happened Afterwards, a Study from the Judge Baker Guidance Center,* Boston, 1939.

[20] See Lowell Juilliard Carr, Mildred Aileen Valentine,' Marshall H. Levy, *Integrating the Camp, the Community and Social Work,* New York, 1939.

[21] *Ibid.,* p. 123.

used), but treatment seemed to have some additional effect toward re-
ducing anti-social behavior in particular, and this effect was more marked
before puberty than afterwards.[22]

In relation to the anti-social behavior of treated and untreated
boys, at the end of three years there was a 52.9-per-cent reduction
in the relative percentage of delinquents in the treated group as
compared with the untreated group.

There is apparently a tendency toward normality in the average boy,
as the improving scores of the untreated group indicate. but as the
evidence will show, it would be a bit fatuous to rely on that alone.
There is nothing in this report to show that there are any quick and
easy answers. To reduce the maladjustments once they have been per-
mitted to accumulate is a slow and difficult task that frequently out-
runs available techniques. Yet the effort to aid the maladjusted must go
on even while we orient ourselves to still more basic tasks of reducing
the risk-factors that produce them.[23]

Such studies indicate that the process of treating maladjusted
children is long drawn out and expensive. The Berkeley survey
shows that even a guidance clinic for a period of two years can
make only a slight reduction in the problem scores of mal-
adjusted children. Although Dr. Healy's percentages of satisfac-
tory careers are impressive, there is no control group of similarly
maladjusted but untreated children with which to compare them.
The Ann Arbor study shows that even without a guidance clinic
a mobilization of other community resources including a sum-
mer camp and a three-year follow-up program·can make some
reduction in maladjustment and apparently some reduction in
delinquency, but only at a cost of more than $100 per child per
year. This is just about the same as the per capita costs of educat-
ing a child for one year in a good urban school system. We come
therefore to the need of more fundamental measures, namely
prevention.

The Problem of Preventing Maladjustments

We have seen that deviant behavior can issue either from mal-
adjusted personalities or from the exposure of a normal person-

22 *Ibid.,* p. 129.
23 *Ibid.,* p. 133.

ality to deviant behavior-patterns in the home, in the neighbor-
hood, or in the community. We have called anything that either
blocked adjustment or turned adjustment in an anti-social direc-
tion a deviation pressure. The problem of prevention, therefore,
becomes largely one of controlling deviation pressures. Tech-
niques bearing on this problem will be considered in Chapter X
and Chapter XI.   •

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. When do readjustive agencies ordinarily take notice of a malad-
   justed child?
2. What "sources of discovery" were listed in the Jacksonville study?
3. What additional sources might be suggested?
4. What are the prerequisites for recognizing problem behavior?
5. What types of devices have been used to facilitate discovery of chil-
   dren's problems?
6. What is the evidence that the children nominated by their teachers
   in Ann Arbor really had problems?
7. Explain the Olson rating scale. The Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Be-
   havior Rating Scale.
8. What percentage of the children in Clinton County were found to
   be maladjusted?
9. What conclusions could you draw from the map showing the dis-
   tribution of maladjusted children in Clinton County?
10. What is the "normal" percentage of maladjustment according to the
    Haggerty-Olson-Wickman norms?
11. What is the purpose of a child guidance clinic?
12. How does such a clinic operate? How much does it cost?
13. What is the school child guidance conference?
14. Where was it developed?
15. What are the treatment resources listed by Dr. Schroeder?
16. What is the problem of communication between a clinic and its
    public? How is the problem being met?
17. What is the situation with reference to treatment facilities in most
    counties in Michigan? What was the situation in thirteen counties
    surveyed in 1938?
18. What did the Berkeley clinic accomplish with its cases?
19. What is the record for the Judge Baker Clinic?
20. What did the Ann Arbor Boys' Guidance Project show?
21. What is the general conclusion that emerges?

Appendix to Chapter IX

NOMINATION FORM USED IN ANN ARBOR SURVEY, 1934

TEACHER'S RECORD

School.............. Date............... Teacher.................

TO THE TEACHER:

The school is coöperating with the Treatment Planning Committee in the development of programs for assisting in the social adjustment of children and for preventing delinquency. One of the next steps is the location of these children who are at the present time giving either incipient or advanced symptoms of social maladjustment in the hope that community resources may be mustered for a remedial program. Your cooperation is solicited in the following task:

Directions	*Place Names Here*	*Grade*	*Birth Date*
A. Record the names of the two boys and one girl who require the largest amount of attention on your part because of undesirable social conduct in the classroom.	1. (Boy).........	......	....
	2. (Boy).........	......	....
	3. (Girl)........	......	....
B. Record the names of the one boy and one girl about whose conduct you have had the most complaints from children, parents, other teachers, or persons in the community. (Those may or may not be the same children as in A.)	4. (Boy).........	......	....
	5. (Girl)........	......	....

C. For each child located by the above procedure fill out a copy of the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedules, A and B. Copies of the schedules are attached. Further information concerning their use may be obtained by consulting the manual of directions in the office of the principal.

D. Give the number of boys and number of girls enrolled in each grade or subdivision of a grade represented in your room:

	Boys	*Girls*
Grade	....	....
Grade	....	....

Please return this sheet and the scales to the principal on or before

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                               │
│                                   School................      │
│   ┤                                                           │
│                          RECORD  LOG                          │
│                                                               │
│   Name................. D. of B. ........ Sex........ Recorder........ │
│  ┌──────┬────────────┬──────────┬─────────┬─────────────────┐ │
│  │      │            │ Referred │ Inter-  │                 │ │
│  │ Date │  Problem   │    by    │  view   │     Notes       │ │
│  ├──────┼────────────┼──────────┼─────────┼─────────────────┤ │
│  │      │            │          │         │                 │ │
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│     Form 4252-11-33  1500                    ●                │
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BEHAVIOR JOURNAL

Name of child.................... Sex........ Date of birth...

School......................... Grade ... . Teacher ......

Name of parents................. Address........... .Tel. No.

Father: Occupation............. Birthplace ....

Mother: Occupation............. Birthplace................

Note here serviceable items from the school records or other sources
These may include intelligence quotient, or achievement scores, and data
on family conditions:

	Incident	Notes
Date	Outstanding characteristics and accomplishments. Personal and social behavior problems. Interviews with the child, parents, or others.	Explanation of incident, results of fact finding and treatment interviews, decisions, recommendations, actions, and notes on progress.

Dr. Schroeder's Outline of Psycho-Therapeutic Aids

I. *Direct aid through the psychiatric interview*

    A. Devices depending on authority

        1. Advice

        2. Persuasion

        3. Direction

        4. Approval of certain conduct

        5. Disapproval of certain conduct

    B. Devices depending upon approval

        1. Demonstration of confidence in a child's ability

        2. Demonstration of understanding and sympathy

        3. Use of rewards

        4. Use of praise

        5. Encouragement

    C. Devices depending upon the patient's use of intelligence to solve his problems

        1. Direct reasoning

        2. Use of analogy

        3. Presentation of material for reflection

    D. Devices depending on authority on a deeper level than A

        1. Suggestion

    E. Procedures combining intellectual and emotional approaches

        1. Interpretation of the individual to himself, and of his parents and situations and so on, to him.

    F. Procedures concerned with emotions at a deeper level than A and B

        1. Encouragement of catharsis. This is an unfolding of conflicts during conversation as little directed by the therapist as possible.

    G. Process of releasing the patient from emotional conflicts at a relatively deep level

        1. Encouragement of abreaction through

            a. Catharsis

            b. Transference

            c. Play technique

II. *Other ways of helping the child toward a better adjustment*

    A. Opportunities not strictly involving the interpersonal relationships in the adjustment of the child.

        1. Health measures, diet, operations, etc.

        2. Recreational opportunities, play equipment

3. Opportunity for developing certain aptitudes
4. Aid in getting over some handicap, as difficulty in learning to read
5. Opportunity for effective functioning within his limitations, as simple school placements of a simple child, etc.
6. Proper grade placement or other changes in school
7. New placements, foster home or institution in cases where anything would be better than his own home

B. Aids involving interpersonal relationships in the adjustment of the child
1. Arranging for someone outside of the family to take special interest in the child
2. Arranging for group contacts
3. Interpretation of the child and his needs to key persons in his environment. These may be his parents, certain friends, his teacher, etc.
4. Direct influence on key persons in his environment along some of the lines enumerated under I above in order to provide a more fitting environment for the child. In some instances the parent will be given psycho-therapeutic treatment. Assistance to key persons in the environment, etc.[24]

[24] See Paul L. Schroeder, *Child Guidance Procedures,* New York, 1937, pp. 155-159.

Chapter X

Children in Danger

THE ELEMENTS OF THE PROBLEM

In Chapter V we saw that there are six kinds of deviation-pressure situations: 1. deviant homes; 2. culture-conflict areas; 3. sub-standard areas; 4. delinquency-tradition areas; 5. the street trades and domestic service, and 6. certain forms of commercialized recreation. We saw, also, that these types of deviation-pressure situations might vary greatly in the number, variety, extent, direction, intensity, and continuity of the specific deviation pressures that impinge upon the individual. The problem for the delinquency-control technician, then, is "How may the number, variety, extent, direction, intensity, and continuity of these deviation pressures be reduced or controlled in each of these type situations?"

It must be obvious at once that each type of situation is so complex that it constitutes a problem in itself in the same sense that delinquency control is a problem, i.e., as a complex of phenomena that can be controlled only as the end-result of the scientific-technological process and not otherwise. This means that for control each type of situation must be scientifically described, causal relationships must be established, specific techniques must be developed, social action must bring those techniques into play, and social organization must provide for their continued functioning. In other words, *the technology of controlling environmental deviation pressures in modern culture presupposes a degree of development of the biological and social sciences, and of the specific technologies based on these sciences, which does not yet exist.* To attempt to discuss the technology of controlling deviation pressures under these conditions is a bit premature. All that here can be undertaken, then, is to direct attention to the need of applying more generally and more intensively some existing techniques in various fields which are perfectly well known and

require no great scientific advance for their acceptance. The real need, however, is for a systematic application of the scientific technology to the problems implicit in each type of deviation-pressure situation.

1. *The Deviant Home.*[1]—Homes may deviate from the cultural norms of American communities, as we have seen, in seven ways: (a) structural completeness; (b) racial homogeneity; (c) economic security; (d) cultural conformity; (e) moral conformity; (f) physical and psychological normality; and (g) functional adequacy.

a. *Structural Completeness.*—Homes may be broken by (1) death; (2) parental incompatibility, as in divorce or desertion; (3) occupational absence, or (4) institutionalization.

What can a community do to reduce the incidence of these factors?

(1) How control the death rate? This is a technical problem for specialists in the fields of health, housing, traffic, occupational hazards, and law enforcement. Every advance in medicine, public health, accident control, control of personal violence, and the like means fewer homes broken by death. Hence we have additional arguments for protective legislation, for the rigid enforcement of such legislation, for the elimination of politics from every public agency dealing with health, housing, factory legislation, and law enforcement, and for vigorous demands for the application of every known safeguard to conditions in the local community.

(2) Parental incompatibility. A community (or larger administrative units, if necessary) can provide marriage clinics and family consultation clinics for crisis cases—cases in urgent need of help. Every physician and every minister has an especially heavy responsibility. The community, or the state, can also provide far-reaching prevention programs such as education in mental hygiene and courses in preparation for marriage. Beginning in the schools, these should reach into the community through lectures,

[1] Interesting evidence from another culture on the importance of the home in patterning juvenile behavior is supplied by Wayne Dennis in *The Hopi Child*, New York, 1940. Problem behavior among Hopi children occurs "chiefly in a few families, and it is native belief, which the evidence supports, that it is family attitude and discipline which determine the good behavior of the young child." *Op. cit.*, chap. x.

counseling service for adults, and house-to-house visiting by consultants. When taxpayers realize that mental hygiene is at least as fundamental as arithmetic and almost as basic as literacy, we shall begin to make some progress toward reducing parental incompatibility.

(3) Occupational absence is a threat to the integrity of the home structure that seems little likely to decrease in a culture of increasing mobility. It is usually, however, comparatively temporary, and if other factors disrupting family structure could be controlled, occupational absence would probably not be a serious danger.

(4) As for institutionalization, the two forms that need concern us are mainly (i) imprisonment for crime, and (ii) commitment to a mental hospital.

The removal of a criminal parent from a home may on the whole be desirable. Yet even here the increasing use of probation may be working to protect the structural integrity of such families. Of even greater significance is the question whether removal of the child from the home is not indicated in families headed by habitual criminals regardless of the institutionalization or non-institutionalization of the parent.

On the basis of studies in New York and Massachusetts, hospitalization for mental disease may be expected to affect about one in twenty during some time of life. This means that it is a real threat to the structural integrity of many homes. The main hope for control here would seem to lie first in wiser mating and second in the wider dissemination of the principles of mental hygiene. Again the question arises as to the wisdom of leaving children in such homes in any case.

b. *Racial Homogeneity.*—Marriages between persons of different color are frowned upon by American culture everywhere. In the southern states the intermarriage of black and white is unlawful. The growth of various forms of racial mythology following the publication of Count Gobineau's essay, "The Inequality of Human Races," in 1855, and particularly the prejudices incited by the Nazi fanaticism in the 1930's, suggest something of the social pressure discouraging such alliances. Yet authorities have long agreed that the main argument against mixed marriages is not so much biological as it is cultural. The mixed-marriage

home belongs to neither racial group, and the mixed-blood **children form an** intermediate group unable to develop an abiding **culture of** their own. Consequently, the social history of mixed **marriages in** America is unfortunate. This is true quite irrespec-**tive of the** ethical and political claims of men of different blood for equality before the law and equality of social treatment as persons. Hence emerges the tragic fact: While culture, apart from the Nazi fanaticism, seems working to increase the breadth and facility of association among different races, such increased association means the increased liability of intermarriage. And increased intermarriage in the present transitional stage of racial acceptance means more deviant homes. There is a fundamental cultural conflict here about which the individual community can do little. If it encourages racial intolerance, it flies in the face of the broader ethical and economic forces of the age. If it encourages tolerance, it in effect encourages more intermarriage and therefore more deviant homes. The line of wisdom is probably to discourage such intermarriages wherever possible and to work in the meantime toward mitigating the deviation pressures that play upon such homes as do exist.

c. *Economic Security.*—What can be done to decrease the amount of economic insecurity in the United States? This is nothing less than the question of what can be done to decrease poverty and unemployment. Libraries have been written on that, political campaigns all the way from California to Washington, D. C., have been fought on the issues involved; and the federal government in its social security program has undertaken to provide billions of dollars to assist the aged, dependent children, and the unemployed. Men everywhere in America agree that poverty and unemployment are evils that should be abolished but they disagree violently as to ways and means. Relief remains at best an unwelcome stop-gap.

Certain things are, of course, obvious. Perhaps an army of 15,000,000 unemployed was needed to dramatize the fact that existing productive facilities have never been utilized (except in war time) to more than a fraction of their full capacity. But it had long been apparent that techniques of production were outstripping our cultural techniques for *motivating* production. Economists call it the problem of distribution. Hence we face

five kinds of insecurity: (1) *insecurity of the private capitalist economy itself,* menaced by totalitarian regimes that motivate by mysticism, propaganda, and machine guns; (2) *insecurity of individual accumulations,* menaced by depressions, socialized taxation, inflation, and crime; (3) *insecurity of occupations,* menaced by advancing technology and business mergers; (4) *insecurity of men on the job,* menaced by arbitrary dismissal and cutthroat labor competition; and finally, (5) *insecurity of access to any job whatever,* access menaced by a contracting market, a throttled-down economy, and "fire 'em at forty."

What can any one community, or any one state for that matter, do about insecurities so massive and so overwhelming?

Very little. Leadership can resist the temptation to scuttle and run, and it can do its best to mitigate the pressure of these uncertainties on friends and neighbors. But for fundamental solutions it must look to national or international action beyond the scope of the present study.

To some extent ways do exist in local communities for mitigating the pressures of *insecurity of access, insecurity on the job,* and *insecurity of occupations.* But any action that could be suggested presupposes an intelligent interest on the part of well-to-do and comfortable people *in the fundamentals of community morale.* Such an intelligent interest has been much more characteristic of the technicians of a community—the boys' workers and the psychiatrists, for example—than it has of the people who own and control the town. The well-to-do and the comfortable are too often content to react to deviant behavior on the part of the less comfortable in terms of traditional stereotypes instead of a search for causes. To blame "alien agitators" instead of facing the facts of insecurity as it impinges on the lives of seven-tenths of one's community may be more immediately satisfying but it is hardly intelligent or helpful for present purposes.[2]

Perhaps one should add that in addition to the *unintended* dehumanizing forces of modern culture implicit in the machine, the corporation, and modern distance communication there has

[2] Seven-tenths of Middletown were classified by the Lynds as on the wage-earning side of the economic watershed. For further elaboration of the actual conditions see *Middletown, Middletown in Transition, What's on the Worker's Mind, After the Shutdown, You Have Seen Their Faces, We Too Are People,* and similar books—not to mention *The Grapes of Wrath.*

now sprung up a social philosophy which deliberately accepts dehumanization as a goal and makes the state parasitic on the individual. Instead of trying to nourish the individual life, as the democratic cultures at least profess to do, totalitarianism feeds upon it.

"You were born to die for the Fatherland!"—one of the slogans in a Nazi youth camp a few years ago—expresses the philosophy of a *vampire state*.

Now the point is, because of the old cleavage in our culture between the *humanizing forces* of family and community life, romanticism, religion, democracy, and modern ethics on the one hand, and the *dehumanizing forces* of the machine, the city, materialism, and business enterprise on the other, this vampire philosophy finds millions of Americans who were unconscious converts before it was even formulated. It is a rare man who can worship machine-like efficiency and still feel that it must be subordinated to the dignity of the human personality. So with totalitarianism a power in the world, the prospect opens before us that more and more of the unconscious totalitarianism implicit in American culture will find more and more definite expression.

For present purposes the importance of this is the effect it is likely to have on the various educational and protective services now provided by private and public agencies for the families of the less successful in American communities. Already in many places there has been a kind of cultural regression. Many boards of commerce and taxpayers' leagues have openly advocated limiting free public education to the elementary school level. This. level was passed in the American legal culture with the decision of the Michigan Supreme Court in 1873 in the famous "Kalamazoo Case" that established the legal right of a board of education to levy taxes for high school purposes. Now to give up this right and reestablish the old tuition secondary school would accentuate the penalties already imposed on the children of the disadvantaged. It would in effect mark an educational regression to the level of the 1870's, and this, incidentally, suggests the essentially regressive character of totalitarianism itself.

Another aspect of the same tendency may be looked for in the field of social work and relief. By belittling the value of the individual, totalitarianism offers an easy rationalization for the

successful who *wish* to disregard the claims of humane culture.
As economic uncertainties continue and the vampire state philos-
ophy spreads, one must expect that more and more comfortable
people will find it more and more convenient to justify reduced
contributions to community chests and increased opposition to
relief on the ground that "the strong should not be hampered
by the weak." This, again, expresses a regression to a kind of
social Darwinism such as characterized the thinking of many
comfortable people in the seventies.

It becomes apparent, therefore, that the question of control-
ling the economic insecurities that contribute so heavily to the
disorganization of many homes is a question not only of tech-
niques, some of which have not yet been invented, but of funda-
mental conflicts in life philosophies themselves. The technologist
of delinquency control can hardly hope to resolve such conflicts
with a few words and formulas. Until such conflicts are resolved
by methods anterior to the scientific technology, economic inse-
curity will remain one of the basic facts, undercutting the utility
of scientific methods and limiting the results that can be achieved.
One cannot hope to complete the control of delinquency and
maladjustment so long as one of the greatest of all deviation pres-
sures, economic insufficiency, remains itself uncontrolled.

Practically, the problem confronting every community is how
to mitigate the pressures of economic inequality upon the chil-
dren. Despite the expenditure of billions for relief, for aid to
dependent children, for mothers' pensions and the like, eco-
nomic inequality in childhood is still accepted in our culture as
an inevitable part of the present scheme of things. So long as
our acceptance continues, we shall have the inevitable conse-
quences: namely, differential incidence of maladjustment among
the children of the poor. This means at least seven to fifteen
million children who are exposed to higher-than-average devia-
tion pressures *through no fault of their own.*

Traditionally the provision of economic security for the child
has been primarily the responsibility of the family. It is hard for
the adult generation now living in the United States to feel that
this is no longer possible for from one-fifth to one-third of the
families in the country. Hence it is the generation now coming
upon the scene, the young people, who must decide in the next

generation whether to continue to penalize at least one child in every five in the United States for no fault of his own or to begin in effect to penalize prosperous adults for the benefit of the children of the unprosperous. Like it or not, we cannot make a clean sweep of the factors producing maladjustment until the comfortable people, community by community, face the fact that they *must tax themselves in money, effort, and time to aid the children of the unprosperous. The alternatives are to go on paying the rising costs of crime and mental disease,* or to give up the whole struggle to make democracy work and go in frankly for defeatism and totalitarianism!

What specifically can a community do? Intelligent leadership could see to it that no child was looked down upon because of the economic condition of his parents. That is a matter of a deliberate reeducation of adult attitudes. Intelligent leadership could see to it that immediate advantages and future opportunities were not too much determined by the economic privileges of parents. That is a matter of legislation, scholarships, and taxes. Medical aid, clothing, school books, the opportunity to join worth-while groups, the chance to go camping, the chance to continue in school, to go through college—these things should no longer be determined by parental fortune or misfortune. Not if America really means fair play to children.

d. *Cultural Conformity.*—In 1930 the census listed 5,736,000 families of foreign-born whites. On the whole, in 1940, aside from efforts to revitalize the foreign loyalties of German-Americans and Italians, the problem of the cultural non-conformity of these families was probably declining. Thanks to the reduction in immigration, the proportion which the foreign-born constituted of the total population was going down, and if the immigration bars were not to be lowered again, America could expect the problem of cultural non-conformity of this type to take care of itself within another generation. In the meantime, communities with large elements of the foreign-born had available the usual devices of special classes, pressure for naturalization, and so forth; more especially, cooperation in civic affairs between the native-born and the foreign-born.

e. *Moral Conformity.*—What can a community do toward reducing the number, variety, extent, direction, intensity, and con-

tinuity of moral deviation pressures? Morals are functional—the
moral code consists of the accumulated judgments of generations
on the type of behavior that is deemed the best for group survival
in the long run under certain conditions. A moral code, in other
words, is a means of adjustment to life conditions. Therefore, in
a highly dynamic world it is unwise to expect the complete uni-
formity of behavior that might have been expected under simpler
conditions. Still, a code there must be. Men must have a pattern
of expectations concerning the behavior that they can look for-
ward to from other men. But as life conditions change, the code
must change—at what cost in individual confusion and individual
suffering millions of social rebels from Mrs. Shelley to Pastor
Niemöller can testify. The unfortunate fact is that without non-
conformity there can never be any progress, but a great majority
of the specific acts of non-conformity are rooted in willfulness, .
mulishness, or individual maladjustment; and so, far from con-
tributing to progress, they actually retard it. How to discriminate
between the two is a matter usually left to historians.

Perhaps we need trouble ourselves with the problem no further
than to suggest that under modern conditions of freedom and
change it is unwise to expect too great uniformity in all details
of life. This counsel should be taken to heart especially by those
of small communities where the minutiae of life are talked over
ad nauseam. The least-useful method of insuring moral conform-
ity is usually praise or blame. It is more useful to try to under-
stand why, to discover causes. It is more useful to change life
conditions than to appeal too persistently and too strongly to the
"will." Two thousand years of Christian teaching have shown
the fallibility of the "will." Altogether the line of advance seems
along the direction of increasing the positive stimuli to con-
formity rather than increasing the pressures against non-conform-
ity. Make it easier for parents to obey the law themselves. Provide
more economic security, better housing, above-suspicion leader-
ship in business affairs, clean government. Strive to create an
atmosphere in business, schools, churches, and political admin-
istrations in which hypocrisy shrivels, and honesty of purpose
and sincerity of character are recognized. Of course this is merely
another verbal exhortation. Verbal exhortations are notoriously
ineffective—especially in a world of such complicated economic

interdependence as the one in which we find ourselves. In a satellite city of one of our great mid-western metropolises, for example, local business men and the local newspaper editors a few years ago were all notoriously afraid to express an independent opinion on any economic or political issue until they had made sure which way the "company" wanted them to go. Whether we like it or not in urban centers, the good old days of sturdy rural independence are gone. What we have instead is a social world of extreme interdependence operated mostly by "yes men." "Yes men" in their community relationships do not ordinarily create an atmosphere of independence and integrity of purpose. Yet there are hundreds of such communities in the United States and the number is increasing. Moral conformity in such places is very likely to be regarded as conformity to the prevailing spinelessness. The spinelessness is not a biological trait of the inhabitants. It is a form of adaptation to circumstances, a culture trait of the time and place. We need to face the problem of whether there is anything intelligent people acting together can do about it.

f. *Physical and Psychological Normality.*—It has been found that at any given time about three million people are ill in the United States. That means that at any given time every tenth or fifteenth home, on the average, contains a sick person. Except in rare cases, however, physical illness in others is not in itself likely to be a great factor in behavior deviation.

Mental illness is another matter. On the basis of New York and Massachusetts figures it can be expected that one home in every six or eight at some time during a child generation will contain a case of mental illness serious enough to justify hospitalization. If allowance is made for cases that need care but do not receive hospitalization, it is probable that one home in five during a generation houses a mental case. Just how many cases there may be in a given population at a given time is not known. But obviously to any community that desires to control juvenile adjustment it is a matter of some concern to find out how many such homes there are at a given time. The techniques for the discovery of problem children already discussed in Chapter IX should enable any school system to determine indirectly the number of children from homes that have "peculiar" adults in them. If the community, then, is properly organized to provide the necessary

mental hygiene and clinical services, the treatment of such homes should follow.

Another form of mental disability in the home is feeble-mindedness. We are not here speaking of the feeble-minded child himself but of his parents or his brothers or sisters. Obviously in the larger cities such homes can be brought to the attention of a family case-working agency. But most of the communities in the United States, as we have seen, have no such agency. Therefore local leadership must face the need of improvising service. This can be done in consultation 'with the authorities of the nearest state institutions for the care of the feeble-minded. Every well-administered institution has a plan for the in-community care of the feeble-minded. In communities properly organized, as discussed in Chapter XV, such problems can be placed as a matter of course before the county or state authorities. Certainly when the physicians, the court officials, the ministers, and other civic leaders of a community realize the importance of controlling such conditions a great deal can be done even without the services of trained case workers. If nothing else is accomplished, there will at least emerge some increased awareness by community leaders concerning the need of providing case workers. In many cases it can hardly be brought home in any other way to the men and women who own the community that children in such homes do not belong there and should be taken out. Action from that point on is a matter of proper organization and sympathetic interest by the proper officials.

g. *Functional Adequacy.*—We have said that a functionally adequate home is a home that is emotionally healthy. The answer, then, to the question, "How increase the number and the effectiveness of functionally adequate homes?" is to *provide by individual and group action the conditions that make for emotional health, and to provide those services essential to the restoration of emotional health when it has been impaired.* It is a problem again challenging specialists in many fields, a problem of decreasing insecurity, of educating people from the early grades up in the techniques of emotional adjustment, and of providing counseling and clinical services for children and adults already maladjusted. (See Chapter IX.)

At the basis of sound social relationships in any home is funda-

mental respect for personality. *The one institution in the community dedicated to inculcating respect for personality is the church.* At the heart of both the Jewish and the Christian religions is the belief in the worth-whileness of the individual personality. That western culture so imperfectly expresses this belief is probably to be traced not only to the feebleness of the techniques with which the churches have sought to express their good intentions—predominantly verbal exhortation—but also to the enormous complexity of the problem. At any rate, for any community that desires actually to control delinquency, it may be accepted as a fundamental necessity that real respect for personality be (i) *taught* in its schools, (ii) *demonstrated* in its classrooms, (iii) *practiced* in its workshops and offices, and (iv) *motivated* in its churches. This is a large order, but it is time for the tender-minded to face up to the problem they are confronting in the attempt to make a world fit for civilized people to live in.

So much for the technologies for controlling the deviation pressures in and affecting the home. What about other types of pressure?

2-3-4. *Culture-Conflict, Substandard, and Delinquency-Tradition Areas.*—Culture-conflict areas, substandard areas and delinquency-tradition areas have long formed the focal point of sociological attacks on juvenile delinquency. Social workers through group work programs, settlement houses, case work agencies, and various other devices have long struggled to check the tide of maladjustment in such areas. The result, judged in terms of the incidence of juvenile delinquency and mental disease, have not been too encouraging. It is true that there is some evidence that these efforts have not been wholly futile. Juvenile delinquency rates, for example, in such a state as Michigan increase as population aggregations increase up to cities of 65,000, but beyond that there is no further rise as population increases. This may be interpreted to mean either that preventive programs are more prevalent and more effective in the larger centers or that, because larger centers are better supplied with alternative methods of treatment, relatively fewer cases reach the juvenile courts.

Possibly the same explanations apply to such facts as the decline in the rate of institutional commitments in New York City during

the last generation and the 55-per-cent fall in the juvenile delinquency rate in Detroit from 1930 to 1939, inclusive. Such evidence suggests that social work techniques are at least holding their own. But it is one thing to fight a delaying action and another to win a campaign. The toll of crime and mental disease demands the winning of campaigns. To this end, the most fruitful developments of recent years for the control of deviation pressures in urban areas have been Clifford Shaw's Area Projects in Chicago.

a. *Chicago Area Projects.*—The theory underlying the area projects which were started in three areas in Chicago by Clifford Shaw in 1933 is simply that *delinquency and crime are individual expressions of community and cultural maladjustments.* As Shaw would put it, the people of an area develop a way of life in response to life conditions. Life conditions being narrow, hard, and precarious, their way of life is likely to be violent most of the time. This being the fact, it is useless to attempt to control that violent and ruthless behavior by merely treating individuals or by setting up programs of reform based on the culture of other and more urbane areas. The only effective thing to do is to change the *culture* of the area itself, and this can only be achieved by enlisting the interest and active cooperation of the people of the area. This is what Shaw has done with marked success in three areas in Chicago. One on the south side is populated mainly by Poles, another just north of the river is populated mainly by Negroes and Italians, and the other on the west side is heavily Italian.

Years of experience as a juvenile probation officer in Chicago convinced Shaw that the ordinary approach to delinquency through the public or private social agencies was essentially ineffective because it ignored the cultural adjustments of the people in the area. It tended to deal either with individuals or with groups on an artificial and "foreign" level. Shaw observed that despite years of activity in a given area social work agencies frequently were still unaccepted by the inhabitants of the area. He cites the example of a group of boys who had been given the use of a Y.M.C.A. gymnasium for their team games during an entire winter for a rental of 25 cents. Someone suggested that that was pretty cheap.

"Yah," said the leader, "they're suckers."

In other words, the youngsters, while accepting all that the agency had done for them, still had no sense of loyalty to or identification with the agency. It was still something to be exploited whenever they could do so.

To meet this situation Shaw devised an entirely new method of approach. Instead of setting up a new agency he proceeded to send into each of the three selected areas young men with instructions to identify themselves with the people. These young men did not go in as recreational leaders or as agency representatives or as social workers. Each went in simply to become one of the people in the area, and each spent the first months of his residence in his area simply in becoming accepted. They hung about poolrooms and vacant lots and they made no attempt to influence behavior in any way until they were regarded as "belonging." Then they did not begin to talk about controlling delinquency at all. They began merely by dropping suggestions about the poor condition of the street-paving, or the inefficient garbage collection or some other common condition with no moral connotation. Gradually they aroused the interest of local leaders.

Shaw's young men had no moral scruples about working with anyone. If they found that gangsters and crooked politicians were the people with prestige in the area, those were the people they worked with. As a matter of fact, they found it comparatively easy to win the cooperation of gangsters and politicians. One worker found that playground equipment left on vacant lots was not safe. He was far too smart to appeal to the police. He went to the local "big shot"—we'll call him Jimmy Fonzonelli. Fonzonelli readily agreed that he did not want his own kids and his neighbors' kids to get into trouble with the cops, not because of any high moral convictions on his part but on the pragmatic grounds that "going straight" the kids would probably have less trouble. So Jimmy Fonzonelli passed the word along to the local hoodlums to let the equipment alone. It was left alone. No hoodlum dared touch it. One begins to see what prestige means in the underworld.

You can't get under a kid's skin with the old probationary and social work methods [Shaw insists]. You can't come at a boy as the functionary of an institution. You've got to meet him as a person. Organize boys into a league, and you'll find they are tickled to death to win games by for-

feiture. Throw the bats and balls on the lot five minutes after the game has been forfeited, and they'll play all afternoon. That's the point. We've got to change the emphasis of our approach from organizations and institutions to face-to-face human relations. Existing agencies can't do it. They are all committed to a cut-and-dried program. Each regards itself as tied to its own program. Each one tends to kick the delinquents out. The delinquent doesn't fit in. The ordinary character-building organization, for example, doesn't touch them. Even the playgrounds bar the hoodlums and the troublemakers. The directors have to protect their blessed equipment, you see! You can't get ahead that way. You've got to get the kids with you, get them interested in doing the thing you want done. Then it's *their* equipment. Let me give you an example. In Denver the toughs had chased several playground directors out of one area. One of my men before he came here went in there in his own way. He lived with them, played with them, and then at the end of a couple of months he told them that he was the new playground director. By that time he had become one of them and there was no trouble at all.

No single agency now takes responsibility for an area. Each tries to do just a part of a job. Consequently you have inefficiency. We have been wasting millions in partial approaches to this problem. We have truant officers, probation officers, physical education teachers, playground directors. Over eight hundred people here in Chicago are on the public pay-roll dealing with boys, to say nothing of the small army of private agencies doing the same thing. When Johnny is truant, one officer gets him. When he steals, another handles him. When he plays, it's still a third. But he's still the same boy all the time.

As we see the matter in these projects, we must focus on the youngsters instead of on the offense, and focus on the youngster in his total environment. In other words, we could take these eight hundred people, assign each one to an area, and have one specialist to every half mile in Chicago. Actually, if we distributed them on a basis of population, we could have in the poor districts one worker to every two or three blocks. With the same money that we are spending now, we could have a worker in intimate contact with every family in our work district—a worker who would be regarded by the boys and the families as belonging to them.[3]

In substance, the principles on which Shaw has been proceeding in the area projects can be reduced to three:

(1) *Deal with the area as a whole,* not with mere individuals or with institutional programs.

[3] Unpublished interview, summer, 1937.

(2) *Stimulate local leadership,* so that the program becomes the
program of the local people. As local leaders see their own needs
functional committees will be organized to conduct group activi-
ties. Neighborhood committees of a block or two will be formed
to put the pressure of public opinion on particular offenders.
These committees deal with offenders themselves. Local people
will provide themselves with agencies for the control of deviant
behavior.

(3) *Coordinate institutions in the area.*

With the enlistment of local leadership and local institutional sup-
port, the entire community can be involved cooperatively in working
out its own salvation. The economical feature of such a method becomes
obvious when one witnesses the utilization of so many local structures
and resources in the community's rehabilitation. Overhead costs in terms
of building needs, certain material resources, and volunteer leadership
are at a minimum when it is recognized that the entire resources of the
community (Church buildings, clubs, social agencies, and parks) are
already at the disposal of the lay-people themselves. At the same time
an investment of time and interest to effect new attitudes in strategic
persons in the community, as well as to train and produce young leaders
in that social life, is to be regarded of more than immediate significance.
In the future course of the community's history the marked effect of
such contacts can be regarded as one manner in which the community
will have established independence and the ability to cope with its
incorrigibles and recalcitrants. . . . The crystallization of principles
and attitudes with reference to social welfare requires not only a general
public interest, but à medium of discussion which focuses attention
upon the local communities' own program and problems. This has taken
the form in these experimental areas of the community newspaper,
edited and published by the local residents. The organ is not alone a
medium for propagandizing the program, but in more realistic terms is
a forum for the expression of community views and purposes. In this
manner recreation, child welfare, crime prevention, become integrated
with other important aspects of neighborhood life as supplied by the
community. . . .[4]

5. *Street Trades and Domestic Service.*—What can a commu-
nity do about controlling the deviation pressures in the street
trades and in domestic service?

[4] Ernest W. Burgess, Joseph H. Lohman, Clifford R. Shaw, "The Chicago
Area Project," *Coping with Crime, Yearbook of the National Probation Asso-
ciation,* 1937.

We have seen that probably a quarter of a million children are exposed to such pressures. The most useful devices to date seem to be laws and ordinances restricting occupational age, prescribing certain minimum conditions and requiring supervision by the police. It also helps if social agencies and churches, not to speak of school administrators, keep a watchful eye on children working under these conditions. In most communities the newspapers have a vested interest in the street trades and the level of control will depend largely on the social-mindedness of the newspaper owners.

Domestic service remains a kind of "occupational slum" in the United States.[5] Perhaps this is owing to the fact that many middle-

[5] The low standing of domestic service is illustrated by the failure of the law in such a state as Michigan to extend to household employees the same protections as are thrown about women in other occupations. From nine out of ten of the following protections household employees were excluded in 1940:

LEGISLATION AFFECTING FEMALE EMPLOYEES IN MICHIGAN

Women in Most Occupations	Household Employees
Maximum hours	
Ten-hour day, 54-hour week in specified intrastate occupations	No provision
Forty-two-hour week during 1940, 40-hour week during 1941 and thereafter, unless paid time and one-half for overtime in businesses engaged in interstate commerce	No provision
Minimum wage	
No provision for workers in intrastate occupations	No provision
Thirty cents per hour in interstate occupations or higher rate up to 40¢ if recommended by industry committees and approved by Federal Administrator of Wage and Hour Law	No provision
Wage payment	
In money on first and fifteenth of month or oftener	No provision
Wage collection	
Labor Commissioner authorized to take assignments of claims for back wages, and may collect through the courts. State law provides for no penalty except fines which have in the past been difficult to collect.	No provision
Violators of Federal Wage and Hour Law may be compelled to pay twice the amount of money due, plus court costs and a reasonable attorney's fee.	No provision
Workmen's compensation	
$7 to $18 weekly compensation benefits for accidental injuries arising out of and in course of employment, after waiting period of 1 week, for maximum of 500 weeks, total not over $9000; also reasonable medical and hospital service for 90 days. Coverage is elective.	Covered by law if individual so elects
Unemployment compensation	
Benefits of $6 to $16 a week for maximum of 16 weeks after a waiting period of 2 weeks if employed by firm having at least 8 employees	No provision
Old-age benefits	
Monthly benefits at the age of 65 of $10 and up	No provision

class families begin to employ servants before they can afford to pay them a living wage. Undoubtedly a good deal of the low-class status of domestic service issues from the fact that it is regarded as "non-productive." That is, the household servant produces nothing that can be resold in a market. In a pecuniary culture it is easy to forget the real value of any service that "makes no money" and is merely consumed. Thus domestic service, like the service of housewives, is undervalued, underpaid, and subjected to a wide variety of unstandardized conditions. Housework remains the most widespread occupation in the United States, with an output evaluated a few years ago as about equivalent to that of the steel industry, but it is neither a profession, a trade, nor a business. Yet to be well done, it requires a considerable degree of skill in many fields and no mean managerial ability.

How can any community protect its children who are employed in domestic service outside their own homes? The simplest way, no doubt, would be to bar them altogether. A second way would be to set a high age limit. The next best thing would probably be to raise the economic and social status of the servant occupation. This, however, will probably only come with the increased specialization of a more mechanized civilization. Moreover, it is a question not merely of reducing or controlling the moral risks to which servant girls are exposed *in* the home but of raising also the tone of the commercialized recreation to which they are exposed *outside* the home in their leisure time. This brings us to the last of the deviation pressures to be considered here, namely, commercialized recreation.

6. *Commercialized Recreation.*—How can a community reduce the deviation pressures presented by movies, dance halls, salacious literature, houses of prostitution, poolrooms, and the radio?

a. Let us recognize at once with reference to the movies and the radio that the community is dealing with mass communication agencies which are controlled more by mass tendencies than by individual and local reactions. It takes the power of the Catholic Church rather than the local women's clubs to throw a scare into Hollywood. The best that can be hoped for is probably to make the local movie managers and radio broadcasters somewhat more wary in their selection of programs and to increase the effectiveness of devices for local selectiveness according to age. In Ann Arbor, Michigan, for example, for a number of years, through

the cooperation of the chain theater manager and the schools and women's clubs, a Saturday morning program of pictures for children at 5 cents an admission was a regular feature every week.

No doubt something might also be done by encouraging parents to exercise more control over their children's choices both as to movies and as to radio programs. This would, however, involve an about-face in the parental trend toward the evasion of responsibility. Perhaps it is time for such an about-face. But it will hardly happen by itself.

b. *Dance halls* obviously need to be closely supervised by law-enforcement officials (the women's police if such a division exists). This is all very well as a principle. The difficulty is that in these days of motor cars and the lingering political subdivisions of the horse-and-buggy age, the rural dance hall—frequently complicated with liquor and tourist camp accommodations—is likely to be more of a problem than the city place of amusement. Yet even here it is often less the dance hall itself than the motor car which constitutes the real moral menace. The dance hall merely furnishes the occasion, the motor car the means.

Which brings us back again to the fact that the trends of modern life—increased mobility, increased anonymity of city life, increased accessibility of contraceptives—all these make it easier for the individual to evade the sanctions of the moral code. What that means in terms of social control is simply this: *The day of external control, control by parental and police supervision from outside, is passing. To a greater and greater extent socially responsible behavior must issue from inner habit and conviction.* The community must continue to do what it can to control or to reduce the most obvious deviation pressures in the environment. But to a greater and greater degree the maintenance of any positive moral code at all is coming to rest more and more on the consciences of individuals.

c. *Salacious Literature.*—A Los Angeles police officer in 1939 placed the number of magazines glorifying crime or exploiting sex in the United States at 421. A check list used by a reform agency in that city specifically named 73, most of which had recently published material violating state obscenity laws.[6]

6 *Community Coordination* (Los Angeles) as quoted in *Delinquency News Letter,* September, 1939, p. 1.

Law-enforcement officers see a distinct connection between the increase in the last few years in the amount of salacious literature peddled to young people and the steadily rising statistics on rape.

According to Courtney Ryley Cooper, after a year spent in investigating this and similar problems, the peddling of salacious literature has become a major factor in stimulating degeneracy and sex crimes. He attributes this to two things: (1) The old type of "pornographic literature," i.e., pictures of nude women, smutty jokes, etc., has now evolved into the "cartoon book" which shows popular heroes, movie stars, and other prominent people running naked and engaging in all sorts of degenerate acts. (2) With the coming of the depression and repeal, ex-bootleggers and underworld racketeers have rushed into this new field and "organized" it on a "business basis." As a result of this double development, highly provocative stimuli to sex play and degeneracy are now being peddled not merely to the habitués of the underworld but to high-school boys and girls in the smallest hamlets. They are being led to believe that degeneracy is characteristic of the private lives of movie stars and other well-known people. Homosexuality, licentiousness, and masochistic torture (known as "spanking") are all depicted as graphically as modern art can do the job. All this, naturally, also caters to multitudes of sadists (who derive sexual satisfaction by inflicting pain on others) and to masochists (who derive sexual satisfaction through their own pain or humiliation). These perverts are, of course, the rapists and Jack the Rippers who startle the public from time to time with some horrible sex crime such as the kidnapping and torture of a child. Yet so naïve is the American public about the psychological origins of sex crimes that such perverts not only are permitted but through the dissemination of salacious literature and certain torture types of newspaper cartoons are actually encouraged to form torture clubs and "national associations"! Torture clubs are said to exist in Chicago, New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other big cities, and one man, named by Cooper, until recently ran a mail-order club of more than three thousand persons devoted to sadistic or masochistic practices. He called his organization the "National Association of Pain and Pleasure." Cooper goes on to say that the entire United States is now divided

into districts of an average of one hundred miles radius and served from adjacent big cities.

The distributors overlook nothing. The same filling station that purveys contraceptives may also have the latest "cartoon books" for sale, and boys and girls in need of money may be discreetly approached with suggestions for supplementing their allowances by "passing along" to other would-be sophisticates the latest invitations to perversion. These things are happening, and happening on a scale already too great for the peace of mind of decent people.[7]

Techniques for the control of such conditions must obviously go far beyond the local community. Police control of salacious literature is usually directed at the seller. Back of the local salesman, however, is a publisher. Complete control demands suppression at the source. A few years ago Los Angeles police through the cooperation of law-enforcement officers in New York were able to stop, at least temporarily, shipments of filthy literature that had been reaching the coast by boat.

The whole problem raises questions involving not only techniques of control but more especially education of public opinion and mobilization of leadership. As matters of social action in general these will be discussed later.

Meanwhile, however, the problem itself leads directly to another directly connected with it, the problem of prostitution.

d. *Prostitution* is a problem of extreme difficulty in modern urban civilization. It is essentially a business run by men for men. The women are, so to speak, incidental. It is a big business and one with a long history.

Ironically enough, it began as a religious practice around the Mediterranean in the millenium before Christ. Sacral harlotry was then a substitute for human sacrifice. Commercialized prostitution, however, derives from ancient Rome. In the Middle Ages many European cities had municipal brothels. It has been estimated that in one period in the London of the eighteenth century there were 50,000 prostitutes. Men generally have never believed in male continence. One of the outstanding features of the modern family situation has been the drive to confine man's sex life to the same limits as woman's. The result to date seems to be some

[7] Cf. Courtney Ryley Cooper, *Designs in Scarlet,* Boston, 1939.

advance toward a single standard. The new standard, however, if it is not so loose as the old male standard once was, may be somewhat less rigid than the old standard once demanded of women. For various reasons, including *the weakening of religious sanctions, the quick privacy provided by the motor car, the accessibility of contraceptives, and the relaxation of family and community surveillance,* some observers believe that the statistical average of sexual behavior has shifted somewhat since the days of Queen Victoria. Some writers even suggest that the shift has increased free competition with paid prostitutes.

Lewis M. Terman in his study of *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness* (1939) reported a considerable increase, as between men and women born before 1880 and those born since, in the percentage admitting pre-marital intercourse. Among 760 husbands, 49.4 per cent in the oldest section and 86.4 per cent in the youngest admitted such experience, while among 777 wives the percentage admitting pre-marital intercourse rose from 13.5 per cent among the older generation *to 68.3 per cent among the younger.* Terman concluded: "If the drop should continue at the average rate shown for those born since 1890, virginity at marriage will be close to the vanishing point for males born after 1930 and for females born after 1940."

Naturally, valid evidence on such questions is difficult to obtain. Whatever the facts may be, the problem of commercialized sex still remains.

In May, 1940, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, chairman of the National Anti-Syphilis Committee, declared that "prostitution is now more menacing to the national health and welfare than at any time since the World War."

As recently as 1926 the *Rockefeller Vice Survey* in Detroit estimated that there were 6000 commercial prostitutes in the city; that the 1500 street walkers averaged 12 customers a day; the 2400 inmates of open houses, 17 customers a day and the clandestine prostitutes, 2100 of them, approximately 8 customers a day. In other words, approximately 75,000 men were served by prostitutes in Detroit every day. Daily expenditures totaled over $150,000. On a yearly basis, this amounted to more than $54,000,000, *or enough to support the entire school system of Detroit at that time for three years.* That estimate did not, of

course, include the cost of disease and misery resulting from this business.

Essentially similar conditions have been revealed from time to time in various other large cities of this country. Yet a *League of Nations Study* in 1926 revealed that commercialized vice in America was relatively unimportant compared with that in many other countries of the world. The business of procuring women for commercial purposes is world-wide. The prospect of controlling it, which loomed as a possibility when the League of Nations still commanded respect, has now faded beyond the horizon. The rise of fascism and Nazism, the increase of disorder all over the world, and the correlative decline in the status of women . in such countries has postponed this reform to the far future.

Modern European attempts to regulate prostitution began with Napoleon for purely military reasons. In the form of segregated districts and medical examinations this was tried also in the United States for a century. Dr. Flexner concluded from a study of such methods in Europe that segregation did not segregate and medical protection did not protect. During twenty-five years before the war a wave of moral reform swept over the United States, closing the segregated districts in 250 cities. This followed sensational disclosures concerning the so-called white slave trade. During the war, the United States government closed all segregated districts within five miles of camps. Definitely, American society was trying to repress commercialized vice. From the 1890's, when the first ordinances had been passed declaring houses of prostitution disorderly houses and therefore illegal, city after city adopted padlocking laws, making prostitution unprofitable to the landlord; and state after state made venereal diseases reportable like other communicable diseases.

The demand for the elimination of prostitution came mainly from three sources: (1) reformers shocked by the "white slave" exposures and earlier scandals; (2) feminists, who revolted against the degradation of womanhood implied in the institution; and (3) scientific medical men, who denounced the rôle of prostitution in disseminating venereal diseases. Houses of prostitution serve as broadcasting stations for gonorrhea and syphilis. The prostitute will have relations with from twenty to forty men in a period during which a so-called charity girl will serve but one.

The apology for prostitution takes two forms. The historian Lecky, for example, over a generation ago wrote of the prostitute as the eternal priestess of humanity, offering her own chastity that the chastity of uncounted mothers and daughters might be protected. Sociological study showing the rôle of prostitution in disseminating venereal disease, its rôle in maintaining and financing racketeers and criminals, its rôle in exploiting the young and the weak of both sexes indicates that Lecky's argument is romantic bunk.

The other apology is economic. Bertrand Russell points out that in modern civilization, in which so many men must be absent for long periods of time from home and in which marriage for men of the upper and professional classes is delayed into the late twenties or early thirties, prostitution is economically inevitable. Prostitution has appeared near every large army post, in every mining camp. and in every large city in the United States. Apparently there are cultural and economic reasons, especially delayed marriage, which make the elimination of prostitution under such conditions extremely difficult.

Thus the average community faces the ugly fact that it will probably have prostitution if it is big enough or disorganized enough. When segregated, prostitution inevitably tends to create a vice district with all the attendant gambling and criminal practices. Abolition of such districts merely scatters the prostitutes all over town. Spasmodic reforms in law enforcement, raids on "madames," and similar spectacular stunts by politically minded police departments have accomplished little. The actual control of prostitution remains a problem for many specialists and community leaders who have yet to pool their efforts with permanent effectiveness.

Two fundamental lines of attack would involve (i) *raising* the lower limit of willingness of men to exploit women, and (ii) *lowering* the average age of marriage of males by at least six years. Practically these are both impossible for any single community and probably impossible for all the people of the United States. Regard for personality, and particularly a man's respect for a woman as a person and not a mere member of a sex, is determined by the mores of particular localities and social classes. The average age of marriage approximates twenty-one for women and

:wenty-four for men, and it seems to be determined by economic
and social conditions, which are at present beyond the conscious
control of any people.

In realistic terms, the best that can reasonably be hoped for in
large cities would seem to be some sort of compromise with
decency—repression of the most obvious types of soliciting and
advertising, control of salacious literature, protection of girls
against rape, kidnapping, and seduction; and strict medical in-
spection.

From every point of view of decency, and of respect for woman-
hood and for the value of the individual personality, this pros-
pect is abhorrent. But without far-reaching economic changes in
American culture or drastic lowering of the general standards of
female chastity to make sex-for-sale unprofitable, there is every
likelihood that the business of providing women for hire will
continue in our larger cities and will appear from time to time in
many smaller ones.

From the point of view of the techniques most immediately
useful for control, *law enforcement, sex education,* and *mental
hygiene* would seem to be the ones most immediately applicable
to the problem of prostitution. Back of these, of course, is the
need of vigorous and continuous *social action* by decent citizens
to control their own governments and the conditions under which
they live. Really to threaten the continued existence of prostitu-
tion in any large city—sporadic raids, etc., are a different matter—
means a long and desperate fight with the underworld. It means
a long and desperate fight because the underworld consists of
many tough gentlemen who make money—a great deal of money
—out of exploiting women to meet the desires of so-called "better
people."

Ultimately, then, two basic problems would seem to be: (i) the
need of integrating into the actual behavior patterns of more and
more of the male population the sexual norms *which they pro-
fess to hold,* and (ii) the need of organizing our social life to
express more adequately that integration.

e. The control of *poolrooms* as centers of deviation pressures
for children is generally regarded as a less serious problem today
than was the opinion among social workers a generation ago.
Other forms of recreation such as the automobile, the movie,

the radio, bowling, the cabaret and the roadhouse have cut heavily into the poolroom's patronage. In Chicago between 1920 and 1930 the number of poolhalls fell off two-thirds while the number of bowling alleys doubled. Nationally on the basis of taxes paid to the federal government between 1920 and 1926, poolhalls declined 62 per cent,[8] and it is probable that this decline continued during the depression. Bowling, on the other hand, increased in popularity as it freed itself from underworld associations and women became patrons of the game. By 1940 there were more bowlers in the nation than there were patrons of any other one sport (estimated number, 17,000,000).

f. In *radio* during the 1930's a definite conflict appeared between the desire of radio broadcasters to stimulate the interest of the great radio audience, including children, with dramatizations of mystery stories, crime episodes, and battles of police vs. criminals on the one hand and the hope of many fond parents and not a few police officers, on the other, to protect Young America from any such peppery diet. Because it goes into the home so directly and because broadcasting licenses have to be renewed every six months by the Federal Communications Commission, radio has always been much more sensitive to "consumer demand" than have the movie studios. Hence, while crime dramas over the air might arouse some opposition from many parents, the problem was neither so serious nor so difficult of solution as that of sanitating the movies. The prospect in 1940 was that while minor excitements would continue to disturb the more sensitive, the industry itself would go on abundantly satisfying the mass yearning for dramatic banalities, selling soap, automobiles, mouth wash and skin lotions more and more efficiently—and disappointing everybody who seriously considered its magnificent educational possibilities. As a factor in the control of delinquency, however, while crime episodes usually wound up with the moral cliché, "Crime Does not Pay," many stations could point to hours of free time each year given to real crime prevention programs, to serious discussions of delinquency, to state police programs, and the like. WWJ, The Detroit News, for example, brought together each week for more than a year

[8] President's Research Committee, *Recent Social Trends,* New York, 1933, Vol. II, page 943.

Courtesy *The Michigan Education Journal*

An alley by any other name . . .

Here is another snapshot of leisure time in substandard areas. These
youngsters are on the hunt for something interesting to do.

actual delinquency cases, scientific interpreters of each case, and studio technicians who dramatized the case on the air. Other stations made their facilities available to Father Flannigan's story of Boys Town, and so on. On the whole, it was apparently fair to say that various local stations seemed to be helping to publicize the constructive side of crime control—the work of local law enforcement agencies, the needs of local clinics, etc.—while some national programs were more inclined to go in for mass interest by dramatizing some of the less desirable aspects of the whole problem.

THE RÔLE OF PUBLIC RECREATION

The problem of commercialized recreation cannot be dismissed without a word about a more positive approach to the whole matter. Anti-social commercialized amusements may be controlled in various ways: either directly; or by changing the attitudes of patrons; or by *positive counter-suggestions in the form of public recreation.* Playgrounds, leisure-time programs, hobby clubs, dramatic presentations, etc. obviously offer a great deal in the way of counter-controls. All students of delinquency and juvenile maladjustment have long recognized this.

Accepted social-work standards demand
In nearly every community with a population of 8,000 or more, . . . a man or woman who is to give full time to thinking, planning, and working for the best possible use of the leisure hours of men, women, and children. In every city there should be one playground worker to each 2,000 population. There should be one acre of park, playground, athletic fields, and other recreation areas to each 100 inhabitants. There should be one acre of play fields to each 1,000 population. There should be one acre of playgrounds to each 1,000 population. Each new school building should have a space near or adjacent to it for the play of the children. There should be as many indoor swimming pools for community use as there are high schools. There should be one indoor recreation center session for each 200 population.[9]

All of which leads us on from the problem of assisting children in danger to the bigger but less dramatic task of "keeping the normals normal."

[9] Community Chests and Councils, Inc., *Statistical Aids for Community Planning,* New York, Bulletin No. 90, February, 1937, p 24.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is the problem for the delinquency-control technician presented by "children in danger"?
2. Why is it impossible for anybody to write this chapter as it should be written?
3. What suggestions are offered for lowering the death rate? For reducing parental incompatibility? For dealing with home situations that require the institutionalization of one or both parents?
4. How deal with homes in which race-crossing has occurred?
5. What types of economic insecurity does the author distinguish?
6. What problems of attitude and social philosophy stand in the way of a scientific approach to economic insecurity?
7. What is the cleavage in our culture referred to at this point?
8. What specific effects does the author foresee as the "vampire state" philosophy spreads?
9. Do you see any escape from the dilemma (a) either tax the prosperous to help the children of the unprosperous, or (b) definitely accept the idea that the children of the less successful *should* be penalized as compared with other children because of their parents' ill success?
10. What can communities do about reducing pressures toward moral deviation? Why do such pressures exist?
11. What suggestions are offered for the control of mental illnesses and feeble-mindedness?
12. What is one fundamental condition for sound social relationships in a home?
13. What suggestions are offered on this point (12)?
14. What is the theory of the Chicago Area Projects?
15. How did Shaw's procedure differ from that of a Y.M.C.A. or a playground?
16. What is the rôle of local leadership in the projects?
17. What suggestions are offered for the control of the street trades?
18. Why is domestic service called "an occupational slum"?
19. How can a community control the deviation pressures in domestic service?
20. What suggestions are made relative to controlling the movies and the radio?
21. What can be said about control of dance halls?
22. Why is salacious literature a problem? With what crime do police associate it?

23. What are "cartoon books"? What is the latest dangerous development in these books?
24. Why has the distribution of salacious literature become such an urgent problem?
25. What is sadism? Masochism?
26. What is "spanking" and what is its significance?
27. What reasons are there for believing that the level of sexual behavior is not the same as in the nineteenth century?
28. What did prostitution cost in Detroit in 1926? Was Detroit exceptional?
29. What efforts have American communities made to control prostitution?
30. Where did the demands for control come from?
31. How successful is "control" through the segregated district? Through the abolition of the segregated district?
32. What was Lecky's defense of prostitution? Do the facts bear him out?
33. What are the economic factors that make prostitution so hard to stamp out?
34. What two fundamental lines of attack are suggested? To what extent do you consider either feasible?
35. What techniques of control seem most useful?
36. What is the relation of prostitution to the spread of venereal disease? To the underworld?
37. Why are local radio stations likely to be more helpful in delinquency control than are nationally-sponsored commercial programs?
38. In what three ways may anti-social commercialized amusements be controlled?
39. What is the case for public recreation?
40. What are some of the minimum standards for public recreation suggested by social workers?

Chapter XI

Keeping the Normals Normal

In discussing the problem of delinquency control it is sometimes easy to forget that after all we are dealing with *exceptional* children. Actually, we are dealing with only a part of the great number of exceptional children. But the very fact that they are exceptional means that they are a minority—the great majority of all children are "normal." At most, the number of current and recently delinquent children probably approximates 1,000,000.[1] The number of children with problems which are identifiable at the moment is probably, as we have seen, between 675,000 and 1,200,000. Recent delinquents and problem children, then, may total 2,000,000. The number of children in danger not already included in these two classifications we have already placed at 7,000,000. Thus, we have a total of 9,000,000 delinquents, problem children, and children in danger out of a total juvenile population, 18 or less, of 45,000,000. Roughly this means nearly 7,000,000 of the 33,000,000 children 5-18, inclusive (1930). These 7,000,000 are the children we are mainly concerned with in this book.

But the number of these children and the success that may attend efforts to control them will depend largely on the kind of life America's communities provide for the other four-fifths of the child population, the 36,000,000 "normals." Child for child the 9,000,000 and especially the 1,000,000 recent delinquents, are likely to do more social damage and to cost us more in taxes and public disorder than any other similar number of children in the country. *The other 36,000,000 will do the bulk of the work of the*

[1] Or 200,000-300,000 in any one year. There are seven years in what may be called a delinquency generation—that is, ten to sixteen, inclusive. Making allowances for repeaters who would constitute about a fifth of all cases, the number of *different* children with delinquency records acquired within the last seven years probably somewhat exceeds one million.

world in the next generation, provide most of the scientists, in-
ventors, business leaders, and decent mothers and fathers. So the
question basic to any fundamental attack on delinquency itself is,
"What kind of life does a community offer to its 'normal' four-
fifths?"[2]

VARIATIONS IN SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Security in life and the opportunity for a child to reach full
development are not to be achieved by any individual child for
himself—or by any child's family for him. They are the slowly
developing product of centuries of cultural growth, a product of
a cultural complexity whose functioning has never yet been ade-
quately described, to say nothing of being adequately measured.
Yet something of the richness of culture on which the fineness of
life depends is suggested by such a study as *Your City.*[3] Three
hundred and ten American cities of 30,000 or more (1930) were
scored on average goodness of life on a basis of 37 different in-
dexes including: infant death rate; per capita expenditures for
teachers' salaries; per capita public park acreage; rarity of extreme
poverty; average manufacturing wage; percentage of girls, ten to
fourteen, gainfully employed; per capita deaths from homicide;
per capita deaths from syphilis; etc. Out of a possible 1541, the
310 cities averaged slightly under 670 or about 43 per cent. Top
scores occurred in western residential and suburban cities headed
by Pasadena, California. Pasadena scored 1110, or 72 per cent of
imaginary perfection. At the bottom of the list were Atlanta,
Georgia, with 360, and Augusta, Georgia, and Charleston, South
Carolina, with 330. These scores, of course, are very rough statis-
tical averages based on a great many different factors and they do
not at all mean that goodness of life was of the given quality for
all children in Pasadena or for all children in Augusta, Georgia.
As we all know, there are great variations within any given com-
munity. The point is that, roughly speaking, certain communi-
ties are far ahead of other communities in the measurable indexes

[2] What is "normal" and what is "abnormal," or deviant, is purely a matter
of degree and interpretation. Practically all children at some time in their
development manifest some form of deviant behavior. But for factual pur-
poses only a small minority become so maladjusted as to need special atten-
tion, so maladjusted that they cannot work out of it themselves.

[3] E. L. Thorndike, New York, 1939.

indicating cultural provision for health, education, recreation, decent living, moral cleanliness, and other qualities that make for long life and community adjustment.

It is hard to realize, however, what this great range of difference means until even greater differences are brought into the picture. Therefore Dr. Thorndike points to the gulf that separates even the worst of these American cities from "some Asiatic city" in which "half the babies born die during the first year," no educational or recreational facilities are furnished free, 98 per cent of the population live in mud huts, eat food costing less than 10 cents a day, and own nothing but a few rags; two die of homicide per thousand every year; and other economic and social conditions are on the same level. "Scored by our system such a city would rate about *minus 1300, or 1600 lower than our lowest city*," says Dr. Thorndike.[4] In other words, at its worst American culture still provides an enormous margin of security and opportunity as compared with the culture of the Orient, and on the average scores 69 per cent of the total range from the Orient to the ideal. Yet the range of variation *within our own culture* is very great, not only in the matter of average goodness-of-life score but in specific items within that score. For example, the chance that a baby will die within a year after it has been born is four times as great in some cities as in others. The probability that a girl ten to fourteen years of age will be working for a wage is *over fifty times as great* in certain cities as it is for example in Muncie or Richmond, Indiana, or in Springfield, Ohio. The frequency of homicide is actually *over one hundred times as great* in some cities as in others. All this means that *the chances of any child having a secure, happy, and healthy childhood, the chances of his reaching the fullest development of his inherited capacities, vary enormously in our culture*. They vary, as Dr. Thorndike has pointed out, from city to city and, as other studies have shown, from social class to social class and from neighborhood to neighborhood within the same city, and even from family to family in the same neighborhood.

How Social Change Complicates the Process

The process of growing up into an independent, self-supporting, emotionally mature individual is further complicated in the

[4] Italics by present author.   .

American culture by the impact of social change. As one authoritative study of social disorganization points out, "There appear to be three types of situations that are causative in this connection: (1) Transition from one culture or social situation to a contrasting one; (2) the actual disintegration of social organization in institutions; (3) the non-integration of cultures due largely to technological changes and social lag, with consequent insecurity for the individual."[5] This means that in a larger sense the process of keeping the normals normal depends upon a complicated process of social readjustment to change which has not yet been adequately faced. The problem of normal development in such a relatively static culture as that of Samoa, or New Guinea, for example, is comparatively simple. The traditional ways provide the answers and there is little pressure of rationally conceived new ways in conflict with the old. This is true in the native culture. When the white man's culture begins to intrude, of course, the situation changes.

But in contrast to the simplicity of coming of age in Samoa, compare the process of coming of age in Middletown, especially in Middletown in Transition.[6] As the Lynds pointed out, everybody in Middletown is insecure in the face of a complicated world.[7] "Everybody" here includes the children. If anybody believes that the general insecurity does not percolate down to the early years of childhood, he does not know the Young America of the depression. Growing up in Middletown is a process of "finding one's place and being able to keep one's feet in a culture built around competition, private acquisition of property, and the necessity for a general vigilance in the holding on to what one has." Very early in life the personal pressures of family and the play group are reinforced by the competitive, selective pressures of the classroom and the organized playground. Such homogeneity of cultural patterns as children experience in the grade schools widens and shifts suddenly as they reach the high school.

Here the whole range of cultural tolerances and intolerances grind against each other; the child of parents who think it "cute" and "at-

[5] Queen, Bodenhafer, and Harper, *Social Organization and Disorganization*, New York, 1935.
[6] See the two studies by Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, New York, Appendix D.
[7] *Middletown in Transition*, p. 315.

tractive" for a daughter to enamel her nails and use rouge, have a "permanent," and "learn to handle boys" sits next to the daughter of a family in which the parents are engaged in a quiet but determined campaign to circumvent the influence of the movies and keep their daughter "simple," "unaffected," and "healthy-minded." This widening of contact with unevenly sanctioned choices, supported not by outlaw individuals but by groups, means under these circumstances to both parents and children uncertainty and tension.[8]

"Competition everywhere insures everything being done that literally can be done. . . ." "It is . . . normal to each local culture to have a larger array of potential talents in its men and especially in its women than this rigid pattern of conventionalized jobs is able to set to work." During the twenties and thirties there was a tightening of competition for jobs, tremendous increase in the number of unemployable and unemployed, and increasing difficulty for young people just out of school to find any jobs at all. Even in Middletown in the twenties the theory that every able young man could get ahead seemed to have broken in two. A few business men with capital, and young engineers of highly specialized training, could and did get ahead. But for the great mass of young wage-earners who were actually seven in each ten of Middletown's income-earners the American ladder of opportunity went nowhere. To what extent the capacity for normal development—the capacity to envision worth-while goals ahead, to strive rationally to achieve them, to persevere and to succeed—to what extent all this was going to depend in the years to come on the *failure* of great masses of youth to sense the increasing gap between the symbols and the realities of American life was a question that emphasized the difference between coming of age in Samoa and coming of age in Middletown.

At a thousand points modern American culture exposes the individual to possible conflicts, certainly to the necessity of choices never known to his grandfather. If it offers him opportunities and satisfactions unknown to an earlier age, it also offers him risks and uncertainties likewise unknown. One fundamental condition for the development of normal behavior patterns in the mass of people seems to be the ability to retain faith in the worth-whileness of life—faith in the values, symbols, and basic

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

institutions of a culture. The reorienting and readjusting of our institutional life to the terrific changes brought about by the scientific technology has become probably a prime condition for the future of normal living in the United States.

In the meantime, any attempt to control deviant behavior presupposes the on-going control of *normal* behavior. In other words, it presupposes an entire culture at least approximately meeting the ordinary demands of human nature. Specifically this means decent, reasonably secure home life, communities organized to provide adequate housing, and space for play.[9] It means communities organized to prevent the exploitation of youth; communities with efficient police, with a moral atmosphere conducive to fair dealing; communities with school systems that equip individuals for a real life situation, school systems that accept responsibility for turning out adjusted as well as literate personalities. It means communities in which an organized effort is made to place young people leaving school in contact with vocational opportunities. It means communities sincerely concerned to make the leisure time of their young people rich and rewarding. It means communities determined to increase the satisfying values of life for all their people by collective effort to supplement the inadequacies of individual effort. In other words, bad housing, high infant mortality, and similar matters would necessarily be subjects of collective concern.

WHAT DO THE FOUR-FIFTHS NEED?

So the question becomes important, "What *are* the minimum essentials for normal childhood in the American culture?" The American ideal for childhood as envisaged by the social leaders of American life is clear enough: a decent chance for *every* child to come to full, free, and healthy development. What is not so clear is the social machinery to achieve this ideal.

In 1937, Community Chests and Councils, Inc., the central body representing social-work organizations throughout the country,

[9] The whole movement for the decentralization of industry and the building of garden towns such as Letchworth, Radburn, and others offers one of the best hopes for rational living in the future. Early returns from the 1940 census suggested that the decrease in the rate of urban growth and the increasing percentage of the population living in suburban areas were symptomatic of increasing population decentralization.

published *Statistical Aids for Community Planning*. This consisted of a number of selected standards and averages to assist an agency or fund executive in estimating the relative level of his own community in respect to certain services. Thus, per 1000 population, the standard set-up would require 5 general hospital beds, 1 public nurse per 2000 population, 1 acre of playgrounds per 1000 population, 1 playground worker per 2000 population. For child care, standards indicated per 10,000 population were 19 dependent and neglected children away from their own homes in public agencies and 9 in private agencies, a total of 28 per 10,000 population. On the average, children under care in their own or relatives' homes under the Social Security Act numbered about 18 per 10,000 population under 16 years of age. Public health on the average was costing $1.13 per capita whereas the standard set-up would call for an expenditure of from $2.00 to $2.50 per capita.

In the matter of parks and recreation, the country was averaging $1.56 per capita. The standard called for $3.00 per capita. Expenditures on the public health program in 94 cities varied from a low of 91 cents per capita in cities between 100,000 and 300,000, to $1.31 per capita in cities of 500,000 and over. Undoubtedly per capita expenditures in smaller cities and in open country areas were even smaller.

As for private recreation, the median service rate per hundred 12-year-old boys served by the Boy Scouts of America was reported as 62.8. The median service rate for Camp Fire Girls Councils reporting on 10- to 18-year-old girls, varied from 27.5 in cities between 10,000 and 25,000 to 3.5 in cities of 250,000 to 500,000. Of Girl Scouts, the median service rate of 10- to 18-year-old girls varied from 11.3 in towns of 5000 to 10,000 to 2.5 in cities of 500,000 and over. Both the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts have markedly increased their percentage of coverage since 1930. The constituency per association in the Y.M.C.A. has also risen over 40 per cent since 1933. Since these agencies primarily serve middle-class groups of fairly well-adjusted children or youths, among whom the incidence of delinquency is fairly low, it is reasonable to say that they are assisting more in keeping the normals normal than in readjusting the maladjusted. *In other words, they are performing an extremely valuable function for a*

great majority of young people. The norms for these functions as given by Community Chests and Councils range as follows: For the Boy Scouts of America, expenditures per hundred 12-year-old boys varied from $445 to $975. In the Camp Fire Girls, the expenditures averaged $5.00 per Camp Fire girl in councils of paid staffs. In the Girl Scouts, the average was $4.80 per Girl Scout in councils with paid executives. In the Y.M.C.A. expenditures per constituent, that is to say dues-paying members plus non-member constituents, range from $14.96 in cities under 50,000 to $4.37 per constituent in cities of 500,000 and over.

These figures serve to give a rough idea of the organization and expense necessary to keep the normals normal in the average American community. A practical question for each reader remains: "How far above or below these averages is my own community?"

THE FOCUS OF SPECIAL EFFORT: LEISURE TIME

Since maladjustment comes to social expression mainly in the leisure time of the child, peculiar emphasis falls on the community's arrangements for the leisure time of children. These fall into two divisions: (1) the publicly supported programs of playgrounds, parks, and schools; and (2) privately supported programs of what is broadly known as group work or boys' and girls' work.[10] Because of the bearing of wholesome recreation on morale, this whole matter became of increasing importance as the nation girded itself in 1940 to meet the challenge of the totalitarian powers. According to authoritative estimates, in 1938 there were still 8,000,000 urban children who were not being served, and at least 2,000,000 rural youth had even less opportunity for worthwhile leisure-time activities.[11] "No cities have enough playgrounds and few cities have reached minimum standards of municipally owned recreation space. Only a small percentage of school buildings are open for recreation as often as three times a week. Play periods with private and semi-public agencies reach only a very small proportion of the population." In 1937 organized public

[10] Supplemented during the depression by various forms of youth programs supported by local, state, or federal agencies.

[11] E. G. Worman, "Recreation," *Social Work Year Book,* 1939, p. 362.

recreation activities were reported by 1280 communities (out of over 16,000) with a total expenditure of $47,933,000. In 491 of these communities, Federal Emergency Relief funds were used to supplement those provided from local sources. Of 23 different types of recreational facilities listed in the *Yearbook of the National Recreation Association* for 1937, 769 cities provided playgrounds at one extreme of the list, while bowling greens appeared in 71 and ski-jumps in 64. It is thus apparent that despite this quite enormous growth of recreation in the last generation in this country and the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars plus the billion dollars expended by federal authorities since the onset of the depression, *public recreational facilities and public recreation programs are still far short of the on-rushing needs of the people.*

As for commercial recreation, the people of the United States spent nearly $700,000,000 on such amusements in 1935. Approximately 73 per cent of this went to the movies. Of the 37,677 places of commercial amusement, 31.9 per cent were motion picture theaters. Billiard and pool parlors and bowling alleys were the next most numerous type of establishment.

The effect of the depression on recreation in this country was somewhat divided. Municipal recreation budgets were slashed drastically. Salaries and wages for leadership, for example, dropped from $8,000,000 in 1930 to $7,000,000 in 1935, but rose again slightly in 1937. Other expenditures in the field were likewise reduced. The total number of employed recreation leaders decreased from 24,949 to 18,496 and leaders employed full time on a yearly basis dropped from 2660 to 2270. On the other hand, the number of cities reporting recreation under leadership increased during the depression, and governmental agencies poured a billion dollars into the recreation field. Hundreds of small communities that had never known any organized recreation program were given their first taste of what they had been missing.

GROUP WORK

As Stone points out, "Boys' work began in America when the frontier had been conquered, when the industrial revolution had taken its toll, when urbanization had set in, and leisure time had

increased."[12] "The early interest of the community in boys and their welfare was a religious interest of the soul-saving type." Group work, in short, was a later development of the same interests that had inspired the Sunday School, the early child welfare movement and the social settlements. "In America, the Boston Commons as a play space was established as early as 1634. It was not until the 19th century, however, that organized directed play, as in sand centers, developed." Outdoor gymnasiums were introduced from Germany in 1821.

No doubt various efforts were made at various places to provide play accommodations for youngsters between the mid-century and the actual beginning of the play movement which Greenwater places in 1885 with the provision of sand gardens in Boston, while Curtis sets the date in 1898 when New York City opened twenty playgrounds under the direction of the Board of Education. At all events, about the last decade of the nineteenth century, civic leaders in the larger urban centers of the United States had begun to realize the need of organized provision for the leisure time of young people. Stone divides the development of boys' work into three periods: before 1890, the exploration period; 1890 to 1910, the pioneering period; and 1910 to 1930, the expansion period. No doubt the decade following 1930 should be classified as a period of consolidation; that is, a period during which with limited resources communities came gradually to a clearer realization of the need of recreation.

As it now functions, the boys' work movement—and the same is true of the girls' work movement—functions through three types of agencies: primary agencies which have both a program for and a membership of boys; supporting agencies that promote boys' work in and through the primary agencies; and secondary agencies that have a program which may be used by youth agencies but are not primarily interested in boys' work except as a means of attaining that particular objective. Out of 135 agencies listed by Stone, 43, or 31 per cent, are primary agencies, 41, or 29.7 per cent, are supporting agencies, and 54, or 38.2 per cent, are secondary agencies.

[12] Walter L. Stone, *The Development of Boys' Work in the United States,* Cullom and Ghertner, Nashville, 1935.

TRENDS IN CHILDREN'S WORK

At least ten major trends are visible in the development of children's work in this country: (1) toward national direction of agencies and standardization of program; (2) from soul-saving to individual guidance; (3) from the church to the public school; (4) toward the wider socialized use of equipment; (5) from the department to the group as the basis of organization and admin-istration with later emphasis on the natural group; (6) toward coordination to eliminate friction between agencies. (7) Increas-ingly lay participation has tended to move from the philanthropic individual to the civic club. (8) Another important trend has been away from sex discrimination—that is to say, girls are being given the advantages of group work. (9) Experimentation has marked this development of children's work. Finally (10) there has been an increasing emphasis on the need of professional training for such work. Group work has come to be recognized as an impor-tant branch of social work. What does it all amount to?

In 1930, Stone found 2,737,423 boys enrolled in 16 agencies. These constituted 23.1 per cent of the boy population of the country between the years 10 and 20. The Boy Scouts, the play-grounds, the 4-H Clubs, the Y.M.C.A., and the Boys' Clubs were the five highest-ranking organizations in enrollments reported. Since those figures were reported, the Boy Scouts, for example, which then were listed as 629,303 members, have more than dou-bled their membership. No doubt other organizations can show equally impressive records since. Yet by and large, it is not un-fair to say that *the group work movement in the United States, even when account is taken of the 4-H Clubs and the Future Farmers of America, is still largely an urban phenomenon.* By and large, the people of this country, according to Stone's esti-mates based on 1930 figures, were spending approximately $34.34 per year per child in this work in public and private agencies.

By and large also, the boys' work movement seemed at the end of the 1930 decade to be mainly a middle-class movement. But there was no evidence that it was yet keeping pace with the growth of problems in the great cities. Stone found that the smaller the city than those of over 100,000 general population, the larger the percentage of boys enrolled. He pointed out, "The problem of

reaching boys in a supervised activity program is greater in the large cities than in the smaller ones because of the greater diversion and mobility of the metropolitan centers." Stone closed his investigation on a note of question. He was inclined to doubt whether the schools and the churches could assume the full responsibility for the behavior direction of the children in the future in the great cities. He was inclined to think that both the church and the school have greater difficulties than in the past. In other words, there is more need than ever for an aggressive boys' work movement. The same conclusion would probably apply to the girls' work movement.

Questions immediately throng to the front. How is the wider child's work program to be financed, especially in the face of rising expenditures for national armament? With the old world order based on the British fleet shattered by the threat of air power in 1940, there was every prospect in the United States that, regardless of immedia.e or deferred participation in an armed struggle for world dominion, a larger and larger percentage of the national income would have to be diverted to national defense. In other words, in the recreational field the prospect was that every dollar that could be spared would have to justify itself by maximum returns. Now the obvious way to increase efficiency in most communities would be to utilize public property, including schools and playgrounds. But this introduces another complication. School authorities usually feel that if their property is to be used they themselves should have a controlling voice in determining the program. Boys' work leaders question whether school authorities can properly conduct such a program.

Again, what is the bearing on the leisure time program of the growing interest in public schools in character education?

Unquestionably, the boys' and girls' work movement is opening new horizons to educators. Camping experience, for example, is an educational opportunity which few schools have yet used. Probably there are certain types of youngsters who could learn even traditional skills in a camping environment who could learn nothing of the sort in an ordinary schoolroom environment.

The question of the relation of government to the boys' and girls' work movement is a delicate one politically. It immediately raises questions concerning foreign youth movements and the use

of such organizations for propaganda purposes. The main hope to escape such outcomes would seem to lie in the lively inde-pendence of local groups and in vigorous community life.

Evidently the average programs for boys and for girls are set up for the great majority who are not deviants. Unfortunately for the bulk of the participants, the more or less incidental rela-tionship of these programs to the exceptional child has sometimes been over-emphasized. Thus the statement has been bandied about that "one seldom finds a delinquent who is a Scout." The implication might be drawn that the Scouting program as such is primarily a delinquency-prevention program. The facts about Scout membership and the distribution of Scout troops, of course, do not support any such conclusion. In one study several years ago it was found that the Scouts were dealing mainly with the non-delinquent type. A self-analysis by the Detroit area council showing the distribution of Scout troops as of July 1, 1938, in the census areas in Detroit found a superfluity of troops in the middle-class areas and a scarcity of troops in the deteriorated downtown sections of the city.[13] These facts are in no sense a reflection on the Scout program; they merely indicate that the Scout program is serving mainly a 'teen-age, non-delinquent type of boy popula-tion. This is a necessary and very important function. But it should not be confused with a program aimed primarily at the deviant, or exceptional, child. Scouting may have a contribution to make in this field, as indicated by more recent attempts to reach youngsters before the age of twelve through Cub troops beginning at the age of nine, and by efforts to stimulate the or-ganization of troops in deteriorated and high-risk areas. But it would seem to be probable that the deviation-adjustment services of Scouting will remain essentially incidental to the main Scout program which is aimed primarily at keeping the normals normal. The same observations apply to other programs in the boys' and girls' work fields.[14]

[13] *Delinquency News Letter,* December, 1938.

[14] Hence the justification for "trouble-shooting" agencies using various techniques for the benefit of exceptional children only. An example best known to the writer is the Ann Arbor Children's Service Bureau. See Lowell Juilliard Carr, Mildred Aileen Valentine, and Marshall H. Levy, *Integrating the Camp, the Community and Social Work,* New York, 1939, pp. 185f.

Tradition vs. Placement in Finding a Job

Another area of difficulty in our culture is that of introducing about 1,750,000 young people every year into the serious business of earning a living. Traditionally this used to be left pretty much to the young person's parents and to the young person's own initiative and endurance. On the working-class level, apprenticeship furnished the entrance for boys, and helping with the housework was the equivalent for girls. On the professional level, the last century saw the rapid substitution of professional training in law, medicine, engineering, and dental work for the earlier informal sort of apprenticeship. The first vocational schools were, of course, theological schools. For the business class, working up from the ranks and associating with the right people at the right places for a long time continued to be the traditional equivalents. Later, with the organization of schools of business administration, business training likewise tended toward the professional. Thus, although on the business and professional level more and more organized training for life work has come to be regarded as a necessary prerequisite, on the working-class level the automatic machine has more and more tended to destroy what little remained of the old apprenticeship ideal. So we have specific and relatively long training demanded of one class and almost none at all of the others. All of which introduces complications of its own in the growing-up process of boys and girls.

But in addition to all that, the uncertainties of an increasingly complex economic system have completely disrupted the old rural stability of economic life. Not only is there the problem of finding a job in an increasing complexity and diversity of jobs, there is the problem of finding any job at all in an economy that periodically shuts down 30 to 60 per cent of its productive facilities. How come to *normal* maturity in the face of the definite expectation that within a few years at most any skilled occupation may be disrupted by new inventions and the equally definite expectation that, whatever the current level of prosperity may be, it will be replaced within a few months or years by a depression, the length and seriousness of which nobody can foresee?

Efforts so far made in America to bridge the gap between adolescence and production-on-the-job have been pitiful. On the

one hand, many school systems have attempted to equip their
graduates from high school—and note that usually it does not go
below the high school level—with a certain amount of useful
information concerning various types of occupations and some-
times some useful skills. On the other hand, the government, still
compromising with the ideal of individual self-help, has set up
federal employment agencies, C.C.C. camps, etc. These are all
more or less frankly makeshifts. In both schools and government
*the prevailing assumption still is that the finding of a job is essen-
tially an individual's own responsibility.* This expectation has
nothing to do with the number of jobs available, with the ob-
stacles between the individual and the various jobs that might
conceivably be available, or with the individual's own needs.
Despite the Federal Unemployment Service, society has set up no
through channels to route the individual into a job as he is
routed from the kindergarten to the eighth grade or the high
school. *Getting a job is regarded as necessary but it is not made
inevitable.* It is still a matter of advantageous trial and error on
the part of millions of youths who do not know what they *want*
to do, do not know what they *can* do, and do not know *where* to
find anybody who will give them a chance to do anything. All of
which, of course, is rural America dressed up in an uncertain
industrialism with no place to go and not sure how to get there.

The challenge here is to integrate education with industry, to
invent social machinery that will make it as inevitable for a boy
to go from school to a job as it is inevitable that he must go from
his home to school. This challenge cannot be met so long as we
continue to assume that finding a job is primarily an individual
responsibility and a matter of chance. *To punish an individual
for his failure to find a job when no job exists—as we do punish
him by inadequate income and various social sanctions—is not
the most constructive way to meet the problem.*

Perhaps it is unfair to expect business and professional men
who are struggling to keep their own enterprises above water to
display the degree of social inventiveness necessary to meet this
problem. Yet it must be met.

Aside from the expectation on the part of comfortable people
that none of the values, beliefs, and institutions handed down
from the past need to be changed, the task of inventing social

machinery for routing young people into jobs as inevitably as they are routed into the first grade does not seem on the face of it more difficult than the invention of television. Like the perfection of television, it would have to be a cooperative process and like that process it would probably require a similar mobilization of skilled technicians. But it is surely high time that the process of social invention was approached as systematically and as scientifically as the process of material invention.[15]

THE APPROACH TO PARENTHOOD

Another field of difficulty for the average boy or girl in growing to mature, self-supporting adulthood results from the failure of our culture to provide adequate means for preparing young people for marriage and parenthood. Traditionally, the family should do the job, but the evidence is multifold around us that, for whatever reasons, the family is not doing the job. The only institutions that offer hope of being able to substitute for the family are the church, the school, and perhaps the pre-marital clinic. For churches with the realistic conception of what young people need there is a very wide field of usefulness here. At the same time, however, it is obvious that because no church reaches all youngsters and because the school does reach the great majority the school is the logical institution to take on the responsibility which the family is failing to perform. This is true despite the

[15] England before the war of 1939 had begun to attack this problem more systematically than the United States had yet sought to do. Under the National Ministry of Labour had been set up a youth guidance and adjustment program, financed largely from national funds but administered locally by the local educational authorities. This program cared for individuals between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. When a youth planned to leave school, a conference was arranged between the youth, his parents, and a committee composed of representatives of the Juvenile Employment Bureau and the school principal. Significant data were recorded on cards which were forwarded to the Bureau. After the youth had left school he was given thirty days in which to obtain employment "on his own." If he succeeded, his employer was required immediately to notify the Juvenile Employment Bureau, which then issued the young man's unemployment insurance card. If the youth through his own efforts secured no employment within thirty days, he reported to the bureau, which placed his card in the files awaiting employment and sent him to a Juvenile Instruction Center. A continuous contact was kept with youth out of work as well as with those placed in employment. Youth did not constitute a "lost generation" in England. Levi D. Gresh, "Britain Tackles the Youth Problem," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 13:360-364, 1910.

fact that the school more and more is being loaded with educational funtcions formerly performed by other agencies. As a matter of common sense it will seem desirable that every child reaching the eighth-grade level should have a knowledge of the biology and the mental hygiene of mating, should know something of the functions of the family in a complex modern society, and should have the rudiments of how to be a good parent. Whether all this fits into the stereotyped curriculum is beside the point. Certainly it calls for instructional techniques beyond the emotional grasp of immature, unmarried teachers.

What educators may much more reasonably object to is not the increase of the functions of the school but such an increase in the face of a determination on the part of conservative groups to restrict the financial support of the schools. The tendency to reduce educational appropriations at the very time when the complexities and problems of modern civilization are increasing, when education is needed as never before, is merely another example of the inconsistencies grinding against each other in our modern culture. It is obvious that to meet needs of better equipping children to be good parents more, not less, education will be needed. More education obviously will cost money—and money that will be urgently needed for airplanes and tanks. The cost of the modern world's failure to control war may well prove disastrous. For community after community, and state after state will now have to make the conscious choice between paying the price of solving these problems or paying the price for not solving them in the form of increasing maladjustments, broken homes, delinquency, crime, and insanity. The cost is there and will be paid one way or another. All of which raises broader questions of the rôle of the schools in a comprehensive community program of delinquency control. This will form the subject of a later chapter, "The Functions of the School," Chapter XVII.

The Value of Personality

We have already mentioned the conflict in our culture between what may be called the *humanizing* tendencies of family, religion, art, literature, ethics, and democracy, on the one hand, and the *dehumanizing* tendencies of mass production, the city, materialism, war, and totalitarianism, on the other. One of the problems

of keeping the normals normal in our American culture is how, in general, to maximize the humanizing forces and minimize the dehumanizing forces in a chaotic world where war again looms as the ultimate decider of destiny.

The one institution in the ordinary community which specializes in emphasis on the unique value of personality is the church. Perhaps for present purposes it will be enough merely to call attention to the growing child's need for *social* orientation. In a sense all institutions, and especially the schools, are set up to do this. But in addition to the theoretical and practical orientation which education provides, there is need of orientation in the field of social values. How to resolve the conflict of values to which every person is exposed and how to orient oneself to the ultimate mysteries of the universe are matters on which the great religious traditions of the world have age-old answers.

Since scientific technology has taken over most of the practical (or magical) functions of religion so that to control an outbreak of smallpox we quarantine and vaccinate instead of relying on supernatural aid, many people have jumped to the conclusion that the old traditions "have nothing for the modern age." Anyone who thinks realistically about man's situation in the universe, however, and the basic limitations on scientific knowledge must question the wisdom of such attitudes.

To aid in keeping the normals normal the main problem for the churches seems to be how they can make contact with the oncoming generation when 60 per cent of our urban populations have little or no *direct* contact with any church. This raises questions which also bear directly on the rôle of the churches in relation to delinquency control. As in the case of the schools, this matter deserves a separate chapter for itself. We shall discuss the functions of churches in delinquency control in Chapter XVIII.

SUMMARY OF PART III

We have now seen that science is reasonably sure why children show deviant behavior. Usually it is because the patterns to which they have been exposed are deviant patterns, or at least conflict with the patterns of the larger community; or else it is

because they have developed emotional tensions which make deviant behavior seem to them the easiest way.

We have seen that social workers, clinicians, and social engineers have developed techniques for finding, diagnosing, and treating such deviant behavior.

They have even developed some techniques for removing some of the causal factors in the family and the neighborhood, but control of many others seems to wait on the application of the scientific technology to them. We know that there are millions of problem children, that most of them need not go on to anti-social behavior or to lives of frustration, unhappiness, and possible mental disease.

We know that many of the deviation pressures in our communities are there because we have seldom applied creative intelligence to the building of communities for normal children. Hence the need of additional social inventions to reduce economic and other insecurities.

But we also know, as such studies as Thorndike's *Your City* show, that there are enormous differences between communities in the utilization of scientific resources and skilled techniques. So the questions remain, How can better ways be brought into action? How can the benefits of modern science and modern technology be made effective? How can social action be initiated and made productive? That is the problem which we shall discuss in Part IV of this book.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What percentage of children are classified as "normal"?
2. What does "normal" mean?
3. What is the average goodness-of-life score of American cities?
4. Where does the average American city rank on a scale ranging from "some Asiatic city" to Dr. Thorndike's statistically ideal score?
5. What are some of the variations between American cities in homicide rates?
6. Why is coming of age in Middletown a more disorganizing experience than coming of age in Samoa? To what disorganizing experiences were you subjected in your own community?
7. What is the relation of the garden city movement to the problem of keeping the normals normal?
8. What does the control of deviant behavior presuppose?

9. What are some of the social work standards set for American communities?
10. What has been happening in the leisure time field?
11. What has been the history of the boys' work movement?
12. What trends did Stone distinguish in the boys' work movement?
13. What is the relation of this movement to delinquency prevention?
14. What are the problems involved in the relationships between private group work programs and public agencies?
15. "One seldom finds a delinquent who is a Scout." Why?
16. What can be done about "routing every youth into a job as certainly as we route every child from home to school"? What assumptions must you set aside before you answer?
17. How can the approach to parenthood be made more intelligently and skillfully?
18. What has religion to contribute to the process of keeping the normals normal?

PART IV

SOCIAL ACTION

Chapter XII

The Present Situation

THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL ACTION

We have now described the volume and distribution of juvenile delinquency and have examined some of the causative factors. We have called attention to some of the most important types of techniques which are being used for the discovery, diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of delinquents, problem children, and environmental danger factors. We have called attention to the fundamental importance of the quality of life provided by our culture for the great majority, the non-exceptional children. Throughout all this discussion there has run the constant suggestion of (1) the need of *better* techniques, (2) the need of inventing *new* techniques, and (3) the need of the *wider and wider use* of the best techniques that now exist.

All of which brings us to the question of what can be done to change present conditions in the direction of ideal best practice. How can we readjust our communities and our culture more adequately to control delinquency by improving our existing techniques and by securing the wider utilization of such techniques as we have? This essentially is the problem of *social action*. It takes for granted the means-end schema which Parson[1] proposes as the central framework for the causal explanation of action. But social action for us is not merely an individual's action in a social field but individuals singly and in groups readjusting themselves and their culture to achieve the more efficient control of deviant social behavior. To present the problem more concretely, it will be useful to attempt a rough appraisal of present levels of delinquency-control readiness and contrast these with best practice. The question, then, will be, "How can we get from where we are to where we ought to be? How change the existing in the

[1] Paul Clark Parson, *The Structure of Social Action,* New York, 1937, p. 750.

general direction of the more effective? How utilize social action
to improve delinquency-control?"

The delinquency-control readiness of any community may be
broken down into twenty-two different types of activities. A five-
point scale may then be constructed for each activity, ranging
from zero, or complete absence, to "best practice." For conven-
ience, the twenty-two activities may be grouped under six func-
tional heads:

    I. Those dealing with problem cases.
    II. Those dealing with delinquents.
    III. Those providing for normal children.
    IV. Activities for increasing agency cooperation.
    V. Activities reducing environmental dangers.
    VI. Activities for mobilizing community action.

As part of a broader project to find out which occupational
groups know the most about the delinquency-control readiness
of their own cities and which groups tend to express the most con-
sistent judgments, 185 raters evaluated 22 different types of activ-
ity under the 6 headings above in Bloomington, Indiana, and
Flint, and Mt. Clemens, Michigan.[2] Summary diagrams of the
results appear on an adjoining page and the 22 rating scales are
given in Appendix A.

It is apparent at once that even in the judgment of ordinary
citizens the delinquency-control readiness of their own cities rates
as only a fraction of "best practice." The three averaged 1.9 per
function out of a possible 4.0, or 47.5 per cent of "best practice."
Less than half, in other words, of what might reasonably have
been expected if full use had been made of techniques and proce-
dures *already known or actually in use somewhere!*

It is apparent even from so small a sample as three cities that

[2] The project was carried through with the cooperation of professors in
7 institutions: Dr. Henry J. Ryskamp, sociology, Calvin College, Grand
Rapids; Dr. Edwin H. Sutherland, sociology, Indiana University; Dr. A. P.
Herman, Hillsdale College; Dr. Raymond L. Hightower, Kalamazoo College;
Dr. Ernest B. Harper, Michigan State College; L. D. Lundberg, director of
research, Flint Public Schools, Flint; and students in sociology, University of
Michigan.

Bloomington, Indiana

Community Profile

Function I	2.2
" II	2.1
" III	2.4
" IV	2.0
" V	1.6
" VI	1.6
Average 54 Ratings	2.0 = 50% of "best practice'

	0	1	2	3	4
I					
II					
III					
IV					
V					
VI					
Ave.					
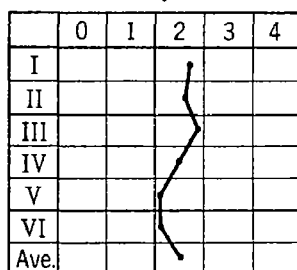
Flint, Michigan

Community Profile

Function I	2.7
" II	2.4
" III	2.8
" IV	2.4
" V	2.2
" VI	2.0
Average 69 Ratings	2.4 = 60% of "best practice'

	0	1	2	3	4
I					
II					
III					
IV					
V					
VI					
Ave.					
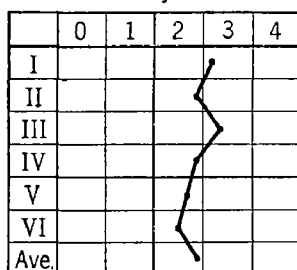
Mt. Clemens, Michigan

Community Profile

Function I	1.5
" II	1.4
" III	2.1
" IV	0.6
" V	1.4
" VI	1.6
Average 62 Ratings	1.4 = 35% of "best practice"

	0	1	2	3	4
I					
II					
III					
IV					
V					
VI					
Ave.					
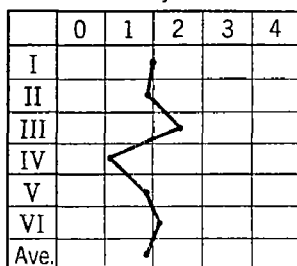
How Communities Differ in Facilities and Organization

Officials, civic leaders, editors, social workers—i.e., the socially conscious leaders—of three cities filled out 185 Carr Delinquency Prevention Rating Forms in the spring of 1940. The results, diagrammed above, give an average delinquency-control readiness for the three cities of 1.9 out of a possible 4. In other words, their own leaders rated these towns at 47.5 per cent of contemporary "best practice."

each community has its own peculiar pattern of delinquency-control readiness. On the whole, Flint showed up somewhat better in the estimation of its own citizens than did Bloomington or Mt. Clemens. But while the highest rating in all three went to activities providing for normal children, other activities, i.e., those for increasing agency cooperation (IV), for reducing environmental dangers (V), and for mobilizing community action (VI), were less adequate in Bloomington than in Flint. In Mt. Clemens activities for increasing agency cooperation were rated at almost zero (0.6).

The next most striking fact is that *in no community are all functions being equally well served.* Provision for normal children outranks other activities in these three cities—and similar ratings in several other cities show the same resul.' What is the range of variability as between the six different functions in any fair sampling of American communities? Further use of such rating forms should supply the answer and incidentally provide community planners with another definite objective—identification of the low-rating functions that need to be pulled up to the level of the community's best.

Finally, behind the graphs is a further known fact: Not only is there considerable variation between cities in delinquency-control readiness and between different functions in the same city, but *there is also great variation as between different areas in the same city.* Leisure time in one part of town will be better served than in another; in one part the churches will be more active with young people than in another; police protection, education, local leadership, all will be more adequate in one area and less adequate in another. Hence, not only must we recognize the *mediocre job* that the ordinary city is ready to do in delinquency control, the *uniqueness* of each city's readiness profile, and the *unevenness* of that profile, but we must also come to terms with the *uneven ecological distribution* of control services themselves.

The objectives of social action, therefore, become clearer: (1) How *raise* the average delinquency-control readiness score of any community? (2) How *flatten* the control-readiness profile *upward?* (3) How make sure that whatever the control-readiness level of a community may be on the average, that level will be attained *in the places where the need is the greatest?*

To answer those three questions is the fundamental task of social action in any community and ultimately in the state and nation.

THE ART OF SOCIAL ACTION

The art of social action is the art of bringing about readjustive or adaptive changes in individual and interactive behavior, and in specific areas of culture, for specific purposes.[3]

It is an art that is practiced naïvely by almost everybody from time to time and quite consciously by a few people most of the time. Thus, to change a family's luncheon hour to meet a new work schedule or a new schedule of classes involves a certain amount of naïve social action to fix the new hour and coordinate the behavior of all concerned. But when the automobile was introduced into American culture, individual, interactive, and cultural readjustments became, with reference to that particular trait, conscious and deliberate.[4]

The art of politics is the art of social action through the instrumentality of organizations, campaigns, elections, and agencies of control. In our culture politicians are probably the most accomplished experts in this art, although certain of its important techniques are practiced with immense effect by advertising men, propagandists, and newspaper men. Because the professional politician realizes that social action *is* an art and because he makes a business of mastering its special techniques and works at his business twenty-four hours a day, he is usually able to outwit and outmaneuver reformers and other amateurs. Hence, in part, the odium that attaches to the word "politics." Yet too often otherwise intelligent people assume that social action ought somehow to flow straight out of the rationality of man and that all that prevents this delightful consummation is the wicked politician. To dispel this beautiful illusion one need only propose even to

[3] John A. Fitch, "The Nature of Social Action," *Survey Midmonthly*, 76: 218-220, July, 1940, distinguishes three types of social action: "group action for the purpose of achieving beneficial results for the group itself"; campaigns to influence group attitudes or patterns of behavior; and "community action through the regularly constituted governmental or political channels."

[4] For a glimpse of this process see Lowell Juilliard Carr, "How the Devil-Wagon Came to Dexter," *Social Forces*, Vol. XI, No. 1, October, 1932, pp. 64-70.

a university faculty some highly rational solution of some simple problem such as the waste of time and effort involved in ordinary English spelling. At once habit, the interrelatedness of human affairs, and the subtle rationalizations of vested interests and personal prestige all combine to put reason in its place—with never a professional politician in sight! Yet it is almost commonplace to see business men, civic club leaders, intellectuals, people of all degrees of wits and wealth, gravely devote hours or days to the solution of some local problem and then solemnly dismiss the real task of putting the solution into effect by merely *publishing a report!* Occasionally a committee on action will be appointed, but all too often this will be dominated by excellent, well-meaning people who know absolutely nothing about the techniques even of publicity to say nothing of social action in general. Often the local newspaper editor and the local political leaders will be left out of the "committee of action" altogether. That is roughly equivalent to ignoring the trained physicians while a group of would-be medical students write out a complicated prescription and send it to the local freight warehouse for the proper mixing of the ingredients! Almost anybody would recognize that as a species of quackery—yet in community after community analogous procedures constitute "social action."

How long is it going to take so-called "community leaders" in American communities to realize that to get people to act on the basis of facts in a given situation is far more difficult and far more important than merely to collect facts and suggest possible solutions? How long is it going to take "community leaders" to realize that social discovery is barren unless the facts are *used, and used by people who know how to get results?* Nowhere is the myth-mind more deadly than here. This is the place where all of us suffer from an illusion of competence. Since each of us has had to engage in various forms of social action from childhood, most of us feel that it is really very simple and requires no particular skill at all. Thus, to get things done, you merely find the facts and make them known. Then if nothing happens, it is obvious that people are too indifferent or too stupid to appreciate what intelligent people are trying to do for them. This gives one a pleasant sense of virtue, but makes no contribution to the solution of the problem.

Factual information unrelated to the prevailing point of view, the current level of the myth-mind, is useless. You must start from where people are. Actually, facts unceremoniously dumped on folks who are unprepared to receive them may not only *not* induce a readjustive reaction but may arouse so much defensiveness that ultimate readjustment is retarded if not prevented. This is beautifully illustrated by the experience of Monroe, cited in Chapter XIII below.

So one of the first lessons to get firmly into one's behavior system is that social action *is* an art and that one's belief that all one needs to do is sally forth with a heart full of good intentions and a head full of facts is only another pipe dream.

ELEMENTS OF THE ART OF ACTION

For present purposes, every art may be said to involve at least four elements: (1) *general principles* derived from practical experience, philosophy, and underlying sciences; (2) *specific techniques* for utilizing these principles; (3) a *directing and practicing personnel*; and (4) a *field*, or social arena, in which the art is practiced.

We shall consider some of the general principles underlying the art of social action in the remainder of this chapter. Certain specific techniques and the practicing personnel will be discussed in Chapter XIII, and the field in which social action occurs will be analyzed briefly in Chapter XIV.

What Principles Underlie the Art of Social Action? 1. *The Philosophy of Activism.*—The art of social action, like other arts in the western world, is based directly on the belief that the way to happiness is to exert more rather than less control over the external environment; to make more demands upon it rather than fewer, as does the eastern ascetic. The late Professor Wenley was fond of pointing out, "the East has given us the great religions; the West has given us the great battleships."

So the art of social action is rooted in the belief that by controlling his world man will be happier than by letting it alone.

Thus it implies a certain prospective optimism—the belief that by acting man can improve his lot—yet it also implies retrospective pessimism, i.e., a belief that things have not in the past worked out as well as they should.

Social action for the reform or change of existing customs and institutions has occurred from time to time in all cultures as, for example, the revolutions in ancient Sparta; the civil wars in ancient Rome; the Puritan, American, French, and Russian revolutions; the Chartist movement in England; the Prohibition movement in the United States; the overthrow of the Shogunate in Japan; and so on. But orderly social action by discussion, agitation, organization, the changing of institutional functionaries and the changing of the rules through legislation—all this has been peculiarly characteristic of a few countries in the western world during less than two centuries. Perhaps it is associated with the growth of distance communication on the one hand, and the growth of free capitalism on the other.

2. *The Pattern of Action.*—Social action rises out of a *sense of inadequacy* or discontent; finds definition and direction through individuals or groups that function as *centers of directive initiative;* and carries on through time by means of *grouping* and *definite organization.*

a. *A Sense of Inadequacy or Discontent.*—This may manifest itself in various ways. A sense of strain develops. Individuals grow restless. Grumbling and often criticism may increase. Students of collective behavior have called attention to the phenomenon that they call milling. Milling is the aimless, inarticulate restlessness of people, akin to the uneasy movements of a herd of cattle, vaguely disturbed and not knowing what to do. A startling common stimulus such as a stock market crash may transform this uneasy discontent into the analogue of the herd stampede. In other words, the collectivity of individuals, each seeking his own adjustment, produces a spectacle of multitudes doing much the same thing at the same time without any common understanding of what they are doing or why they are doing it. Such unpolarized behavior may serve to get a crowd out of a sudden rainstorm or to create a run on a bank, but it cannot lead to any coordinated or long-range readjustment. To meet the complicated problems of modern culture, individuals must be brought to act on a common definition of the situation and for common, not merely similar, objectives. This calls for

b. *Directive Initiative.*—Directive initiative is a function performed by dominant individuals, by authoritative persons, by

leaders, and by manipulators, or "politicians." It is a function of such importance in social action that we shall devote the next chapter to an analysis of it. For the present, it will be enough to indicate that directive initiative defines the difficulty and suggests ways out. Social action then becomes a matter of

c. *Grouping for Action.*—This requires "selling" the idea, or contrariwise, the "acceptance" of the idea, by all who wish to act together.

At this point further social action can take two somewhat divergent courses, depending on whether the center of directive initiative has appeared within the institutional complex whose reform, or readjustment, is the object of action or whether the center of initiative has appeared outside such an institutional complex. The process of selling a new idea within an organization is somewhat different from the process of introducing the idea from outside. Let us examine first an example of social action originating within an organization and contrast that with the lack of action in a similar organization facing identically the same problem.

THE GRANGE CONFRONTS THE LEISURE OF YOUTH[5]

During the later 1930's members of the granges in one of the agricultural counties of southern Michigan became more or less definitely aware that young people, even members of their own families, were not attending the grange. All the members began to feel vaguely uneasy at this condition of affairs. This was the stage of milling, or inarticulate uneasiness. Then one of the leading members of the Plum Creek Grange consulted the other members with a proposal that the grange hall be rented to local groups for dances. A definite center of initiative had appeared. This leader, who happened to be an auctioneer with a somewhat broader experience than most grangers, pointed out that they were all facing the problem of young people going to dances in near-by villages, as well as the fact that the young people were not coming to the grange. He pointed out that times had changed since the old horse-and-buggy days and that the grange must

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[5] For this incident and many points in the entire discussion of social action I am indebted to Mr. James E. Stermer, field sociologist, Michigan Child Guidance Institute.

modify its customs if it expected to interest young people. After much discussion and not without some opposition on the part of older and more conservative members, it was agreed to rent the grange hall for dances under proper supervision. Arrangements were made for charging a nominal admission fee per couple, and for supervision. There was to be no drinking or boisterous behavior. Within a few months the dances became very popular. The young people came. To that extent the readjustment met part of the problem, but the young people still did not join the grange. The ideology and the ritual apparently harked back to the needs of an earlier day in which they were not interested. This older conception of the grange was mainly one of ritual and "eats," and an occasional entertainment provided by someone from outside. The picture, then, of Plum Creek was one of a partial readjustment which, in a measure, solved the problem of leisure time recreation for the local young people but did not solve the grange's problem of how to attract the young people into membership.

In the meantime, about ten miles away, the good members of the North Hanover Grange faced identically the same problem. Like the Plum Creek grangers before the "reform" they did nothing about it except to bemoan the "wildness" of the younger generation and reassert the special correctness of their own point of view. The grange seemed definitely on the down-grade. The hall was not even being used for grange meetings any more. These meetings were held in private homes. The building ceased to have any vital function except on some special occasion when an outside speaker drew a small audience. Grange members bemoaned the "indifference" of the younger generation. One old member, for example, had seven sons and daughters. Not one of them was a granger. He couldn't understand it. When the incredible news came that Plum Creek had licensed dancing, the North Hanover grangers expressed the opinion that the Plum Creek folk were not good grangers! Even the "passing of the gavel"[6] with a

[6] The ceremony of "passing the gavel," that is, ceremonious communication from one grange to another, is an example of a very interesting device for breaking through the old-time autonomy of the neighborhood. A grange with an idea which it felt should be passed on would arrange to have that idea communicated to a neighboring grange through the ceremony of passing the gavel by a representative of the grange itself. In this way in the old days

pointed suggestion from the Plum Creek leader that the introduction of dancing would be a good thing for North Hanover failed to shake the conviction of the North Hanover members.

Why were the Plum Creek grangers more open to reform than was the North Hanover group? In the first place, Plum Creek obviously had *broader leadership*. An auctioneer gets about and sees many different communities. He sees the problem of useful recreation in a somewhat broader way than the average farmer does. It was from the auctioneer, then, that the suggestion came for opening the grange hall to dances. North Hanover had no such broad leadership.

At the same time, however, the Plum Creek grangers had other advantages—for one thing, an *advantage of location*. Their hall stood within a mile of a concrete highway between two centers of population. The North Hanover hall was a mile and a half from the concrete on an inferior gravel road and out of line with the main stream of traffic. Plum Creek had modern conveniences—it was farther from the horse and buggy. Situated on a power line which passed its doors, the hall was equipped with electricity. The North Hanover grange hall was a mile from an electric line and still used oil lamps. The Plum Creek hall had been modernized in other ways. It had a central heating system with forced ventilation, modern toilets, etc. The North Hanover hall was heated with a pot-bellied stove, the physical equipment of the horse-and-buggy days. All of this summed up to another condition making for flexibility as compared with North Hanover: Plum Creek had more capital invested in its Grange hall and hence was under heavier economic pressure to secure a return on its investment. North Hanover with its more primitive equipment felt less need of making it pay.

Finally, there was probably more of a leisure time problem at Plum Creek than at North Hanover because of the superior fertility of the Plum Creek soil. With more fertile soil, Plum Creek farmers were able to keep more of their children on the land than

ideas would travel from grange to grange. backed by the authority of the grange group and the prestige of the ceremonious occasion. In this way in the days immediately following the Civil War the grange provided for the dissemination of new ideas without relying on outside agencies of communication, which at that time were weak and ineffective.

was true at North Hanover. But in so far as the drift to the cities was slowed down, the need of providing for youth's leisure time increased. Hence, the youth problem was probably more acute at Plum Creek than at North Hanover.

For all these reasons, therefore—superior leadership, advantages of location, modern conveniences, greater economic pressure, and an acuter youth problem—Plum Creek readjusted to the recreational needs of its youth while North Hanover stood pat.

This is an example of social action within a free-discussion organization. Obviously, if the organization is not a free-discussion but an authoritarian organization such as the average corporation or the army, or in many cases even schools and colleges, social action will come about less through discussion than through reports, executive conferences, special investigations, and executive decisions. In such organizations much will always depend on where the original suggestion comes from and how much influence backs it. The involved "politics" of business organizations, school systems, colleges, and so on, is a subject which we cannot discuss here. Different organizations and institutions differ in their smugness, their willingness to face their own readjustive needs, their sensitiveness to criticism from outside. The personal adjustment problems of executives play a part. Individuals do not change merely because they acquire authority in an organization. If a man is defensive and insecure, he will obviously be more suspicious of new ideas and of the sources of new ideas than if he is well adjusted, secure, and open-minded.

To some extent the problem of raising the delinquency-control readiness of existing agencies and institutions is one of reform from within. But there is also a problem of raising control readiness through social action from without.

The Weapons of Social Action and the Targets

The delinquency-control readiness of any community is always a function of three variables: (1) *Dominant attitudes and expectations*; (2) *The adequacy or completeness of agencies and services*; (3) *The efficiency of the agencies and services available.*

To raise the level of each of these three variables requires the focusing of four kinds of social action on particular individuals.

The four kinds of social action are (a) *education*, (b) *agitation* (propaganda), (c) *organization*, and (d) *pressure*. The individuals on whom these activities are to be focused fall roughly into three groups: (i) those with *economic* power and prestige; (ii) those with *political* power and prestige; and (iii) those with *social* power and prestige. In each of these groups education, agitation, organization, pressure must reach the *decision-makers*, the men and women who decide what policies shall be pushed and what policies shall be soft-pedaled. Ostensibly these are the board members and executives of the various economic, political, and social organizations of the community. But back of these are always a few men and women who because of family connections, financial dominance, technical competence, or unusual ability to command confidence rank as leading citizens, local "big shots." By and large,. in American communities influence tends to gravitate into the hands of lawyers; bankers; newspaper editors; the heads of the biggest industrial, commercial, and educational enterprises; clergymen; the heads of the various civic clubs; women's organizations; the American Legion. These are the men and women whose co-operation must be won, the men and women who must be "sold" on the idea, the men and women who must be brought to feel the existence of the problem and who must be won to accept cooperative effort as the way out.

Education means that the decision-makers in the community must be made to see, understand, and feel the problem. This is partly a task of fact-finding, partly a task of defining the significance of the facts, and partly a task of publicizing, or rather dramatizing, that significance. It is furthermore a task of making the decision-makers realize the inadequacies of myth-mindedness, the inadequacies of their present set-up, the inefficiency of the old piecemeal techniques. The art of social action consists in bringing about this realization without arousing defensiveness and hostility. This will be touched upon again in the next chapter.

How Break Down Civic Defensiveness?

One of the weaknesses of the old· intellectualistic approach to social problems has been, as we have already said, faith in pure reason, the naïve belief that if the facts are presented once, people will act upon them. Mr. Hitler, the advertising men of America,

and our public relations counsels all realize the fallacy of that point of view. To convince comfortable people that the satisfactory world in which they live is only a "front" and that behind that "front" is a vast mass of misery and maladjustment and potential danger is to ask them to give up a comfortable stereotype for strain, uncertainty, the necessity of action. Normal human beings do not accept such an alternative willingly. It must be forced upon them and pounded into them, and they must be given no opportunity to evade their responsibilities by any easy escape into indignation and self-righteousness. In other words, beyond mere education there is the need of making continuous and skillful propaganda, the need of dramatizing the problem again and again, not only to reach more and more people but to reach more people more emotionally as well as intellectually.

There is a profound civic defensiveness in ordinary American citizens. They do not want to think that *their* community has any of the blemishes which other communities may have. They would much prefer to point to the new million-dollar high school rather than to the local slums. Civic leaders have been known to refuse governmental aid for a delinquency survey on the ground that if they accepted the money and the survey were made "it would be an admission that conditions of delinquency actually exist in our town!" Of course they were not going to do anything about those conditions themselves, but merely to bring the facts to light would "give the town a bad name"! More important still, it would disturb them emotionally.

Whatever one may think of such attitudes, they exist, and the art of social action is to get around them and change them. Hence the need of dramatizing actual conditions through carefully selected case material—the identity of the individuals always protected—and hence the need of a long campaign of propaganda. The problem must be brought up again and again from this angle and from that, through this agency and through that, through this channel of communication and through that—newspapers, radio, public speeches, lectures, lodge programs, civic organization programs, leaflets, posters, pictures, motion pictures —any and all avenues of communication. All these devices and approaches must be used and in addition there must be built up a word-of-mouth propaganda at private and casual meetings. It

is a curious sidelight on the blindness of American community leadership in social action that it is almost never willing to grant money to hire expert assistants in publicity and propaganda. It is felt that whatever money is raised must go into "service." Yet in their own businesses the very men who veto an expert public relations program for the community fund spend millions for advertising and political contributions.

THE RÔLE OF ORGANIZATION

Yet the art of social action under modern conditions requires persistent agitation. That agitation cannot be initiated and it certainly cannot be maintained unless individuals are willing to make sacrifices, are willing to form themselves into a kind of nucleus of action, are willing to *give* time, *pay* dues, *exert effort* overtly and positively to advance the "cause." A vague, diffused interest in delinquency control is one thing. Any reasonably well-informed speaker can arouse that in any luncheon club or woman's group. But a definite, persistent, active interest that will pay dues, write letters, attend meetings, send delegations to interview city officials and legislators, and follow up individual channels of influence with telephone calls and other forms of individual pressure—all this is quite another thing. But it is the absolutely essential link between mere interest and results. It is a link that almost never comes into existence by itself and never exists without *organization. Organization, then, is the absolutely essential bridge by which social action passes from vague good intentions to purposive activity.*

The most familiar form of organization to make purpose effective through activity is the *organized social movement.* A social movement is a deliberate effort by many people over an appreciable time to readjust their culture, or parts of their culture, by applying a special solution to a common problem. It always implies three things: a *problem, failure of existing social devices* to solve the problem, and a certain amount of *resistance of the status quo* to outside ideas. Blumer distinguishes five mechanisms in any social movement: (1) *Ideology.* The great movements develop their ideology in the form of a myth concerning their origins, their purposes, and their goals. Also *collective representations* such as distinctive names, a flag, distinctive emblems, forms, and

various rationalizations which explain the movement and make it seem inevitable and perfectly natural. (2) *Agitation;* that is to say, active effort to enlist cooperation, to sell the ideology. (3) *Esprit de corps,* the enthusiasm for the movement as such. (4) *Morale,* the determination to stay with it, to see it through, to refuse to accept minor disappointments and setbacks. Part of the art of leadership, which we shall discuss in the next chapter, has to do with the creation of esprit de corps and the maintenance of morale. (5) *Tactics.* The particular method used for carrying on agitation, for developing esprit de corps, for maintaining morale, for bringing pressure on other organizations, etc.—all this is tactics. These five mechanisms are found in every movement.

An essential phase, then, of social action for raising the delinquency-control readiness of any community and of any state is the organization of a movement with those objectives.

The Value of Pressure

Itself an outgrowth of education and agitation, a movement will make use of these and in addition will utilize still another tool of action, namely, *pressure.* Pressure is any form of persuasive or coercive influence brought to bear on an individual to control his behavior in the interests of a cause or program of action. A banker who holds a legislator's note is in a position to exert pressure. A social group that controls social recognition, invitations to teas, receptions, weddings—the symbols of "belonging"—such a group is capable of exerting tremendous pressure, as many a young reformer from California to the national capital has learned to his cost. At the time of the graft prosecutions in San Francisco, for example, between 1907 and 1910, many wealthy people who supported the attempt to put bribe-giving business leaders in prison were openly snubbed by the social "leaders" of the city. Newspapers that supported the graft prosecutions found it difficult to renew their loans at the banks, and one editor, Fremont Older, was even kidnaped in broad daylight on the streets of San Francisco and threatened with a trumped-up libel charge for his part in backing the law. All this—from the subtle chilliness of drawing-room disapproval to the cold realities of a foreclosed mortgage—is pressure. It would be unrealistic for any movement that seeks results in the American scene to fail to utilize at least its

subtler possibilities. It is, however, a two-edged sword that cuts both ways. Pressure easily arouses resentment. Hence, it must be used cautiously and always, so far as possible, indirectly.

FACTORS OF SUCCESS AND FAILURE

At least three factors are always supremely important in the success or failure of any movement, i.e., in the success or failure of readjustment through a movement. One is the *character and timeliness of the solution* offered in relation to a crisis; that is to say, the *ideology* presented. The second is the nature of the *leadership* that organizes and directs the movement. The third is *the nature of the field,* or the social arena, in which the movement develops and works.

The nature of the solution offered in this book for the control of delinquency has already been made clear. It is essentially the application of the scientific technology to the problem of controlling deviant behavior in American communities. This does not, of course, cover the complete ideology which must be developed in order to motivate people to accept that solution. Such an ideology obviously includes the American belief in equality of opportunity, the worth-whileness of the individual life, and the fundamental belief that man should endeavor to make intelligence count in the control of life conditions.

The question of leadership and the nature of the field in which the delinquency-control movement must operate will be discussed in the ensuing two chapters.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is the problem of social action?
2. What conclusions can be drawn from the evidence concerning the control readiness of American communities?
3. What specific objectives of social action for delinquency control are distinguished?
4. Define the art of social action.
5. What are the elements of an art?
6. What is the philosophy of activism?
7. Describe the pattern of action.
8. Why did the Plum Creek Grange rent its hall for dances? Why did the North Hanover Grange refuse to do likewise?
9. Identify the weapons of social action.

10. What classification of social action "targets" is suggested?
11. Why make propaganda for delinquency control?
12. Explain the importance of organization in social action.
13. What is a movement?
14. What does it always imply?
15. What are Blumer's "mechanisms of a movement"?
16. Define pressure. Why must it be used with caution?
17. What are the factors of success and failure in any movement?

Community Leadership

DIRECTIVE INITIATIVE

Volumes have been written on leadership, and obviously no type of human behavior is more important in times of stress and uncertainty. Yet the men who manage groups best seldom write books about it, and the men who write the books seldom manage groups.

Leadership, as we have said, may be classed as a type of directive initiative. Directive initiative appears whenever a number of people find themselves in a situation in which old routines, old habits, old ideas no longer work. In such situations, individuals arise who attract attention to the common difficulty, attempt to define that difficulty, and proceed in various ways to suggest possible solutions or ways out. Depending on many conditioning factors, these individuals seem to be of three types: (1) the *dominant personality* who imposes his directives by the compulsion of personal prestige or force without any authority and without freely won consent; (2) an individual with recognized *authority*, i.e., with the mandate of an organization behind him; and (3) the *leader* whose directives are accepted freely without compulsion and without authority.

Technically, leadership, then, always involves a distinct element of choice on the part of those who accept the leader, and a distinct absence of compulsive pressures *on the part of the group*.[1] Euphemistically or for purposes of capitalizing on the prestige of the term leadership, we sometimes call a military commander or a business executive a leader. But such men usually function on the basis of authority. Although it is true that wise and considerate authority tends to develop consent on the part of those who

[1] The leader himself may exert coercion through persuasion, but the group exerts none.

obey, it is still not strictly accurate to confuse leadership with authority.

For practical purposes in dealing with the more effective control of juvenile delinquency it is necessary to recognize that nobody in an ordinary American community can approach that problem on the level of personal dominance or of authority. No one is competent to *command* the complicated and long-continued coordination of activity which the ultimate control will necessitate. So the problem is how to *win* the consent of judges, agency executives, agency workers, and lay people to the use of more intelligent methods of delinquency control.

We have said that directive initiative appears in situations in which it is necessary to focus the attention of a number of people on a common difficulty. That becomes, therefore, the first function of leadership. But for successful readjustment any collectivity of people must have performed for them at least seven other functions:

1. Someone must *define the difficulty.* Under complicated modern conditions this is frequently a very difficult task. Witness all the ink and oratory that have been spilled in efforts to define "the depression." Defining the difficulty means not merely bringing together the dispersed phenomena which belong together if the situation is to be met as a whole, it means also tracing out causal connections, making it clear why conditions are as they are. Obviously this is largely an intellectual, and ideally it should be, to a large extent, a scientific, function. In attacking delinquency control it is a function that in many communities can be performed by the social science classes in the high schools, by the sociology classes in the junior colleges, or by special research agencies supported by councils of social agencies, local foundations, and so on. The more up-to-date and better-equipped social agencies, juvenile courts, and clinics are constantly carrying on research. But unfortunately the great majority of American communities have no such special facilities. Such organizations as the Bureau of Governmental Research in Detroit, the Cleveland Foundation, and the Flint Institute for Research and Planning are altogether too rare.

What all this amounts to is that in every juvenile court, in every school superintendent's office, in the office of every group work

agency, every newspaper office, every American Legion Post and every civic club headquarters there should be a series of maps showing (a) the distribution of the boys and girls taken to court on delinquency charges over a period of years; (b) the distribution of some of the more obvious deviation-pressure factors such as low-rent areas, culture-conflict areas, dubious recreational centers, etc.; (c) the distribution of various constructive or potentially constructive factors such as Boy Scout troops, 4-H Clubs, churches, playgrounds, schools, etc.; and (d) the distribution of certain ecological factors such as rivers, railroads, main traffic arteries, factory districts, vacant lots, etc.

2. Beyond merely defining the difficulty, however, leadership must *propose solutions.* As we have already pointed out in the preceding chapter, all too frequently it is fatally easy to jump from the intellectual task of defining the difficulty to action. *It is the argument of this book that it is the function of science and technology to provide a more adequate road to action, a bridge composed of techniques.* Disorganized action without technique should be out of date. This entire book is, in effect, a proposal of a solution; not a specific solution but a *method* of reaching a solution. Apply the scientific technology, back that up with social action, organize the results in agencies and institutions, and we shall have "solved" delinquency control so far as human knowledge and human skill can solve any non-political problem in our present level of culture. That is the "solution" proposed in this book. That is the "solution" which social action is called upon to "sell" community by community, state by state.

At once we confront a third additional task of leadership in social action.

3. This is *the enlistment of cooperation.* How does one sell anything, a new automobile or a new idea? There are libraries on that question. But we are not merely selling an idea here; we are selling cooperation, i.e., *active, continuous participation-with.* And that is a matter slightly more complicated than inducing Tom, Dick, and Harry to sign on the dotted line. By and large, there seem to be two extreme methods of winning cooperation: (a) *the persuasive method of emotional conditioning by propaganda and pressure;* and (b) *the educational method of mutual understanding, removal of conflict, and democratic collaboration.*

Both have a place in any large-scale attempt to win cooperation. We shall confine ourselves to a brief analysis of each, and suggest other sources for fuller details.

a. *Cooperation Through Emotional Conditioning.*—The term propaganda has acquired an evil meaning in many minds since the first World War. The term itself derives from the Catholic College of the Propaganda which was established in 1622 to combat the protestant heresy and propagate the faith in non-Catholic countries. The *thing*, however, is at least as old as Plato, who in *The Republic* suggests that the citizens of his ideal state should be made to accept the differences between classes by being taught that the different social classes are made of different stuff, namely, gold, silver, and iron.

Propaganda rests on persuasion and conditioning. Persuasion starts with its conclusion given. Unlike argument, which presupposes that one's opponent may be right, persuasion takes for granted the rightness of one's own position, and by the use of any and all means whatever seeks to bring one's opponent over to that position. It is concerned not merely with winning verbal victories but with capturing emotional allegiance. This is where conditioning comes in. In the early years of this century the great Russian physiologist, Pavlov, discovered that by presenting simultaneously to a dog an adequate stimulus (meat) and an inadequate stimulus (the sound of a bell) the inadequate stimulus could be made to arouse the same reaction as that aroused in the first place by the adequate stimulus. This is the phenomenon known as conditioning. Propagandists of all kinds had made great use of it for centuries without bothering to give it a name. The technique is merely that suggested by H. G. Wells to the British propagandists during the war, namely: Since it is in the mores of the British people to detest sexual crimes, the most effective propaganda would be to condition them to believe that the Germans are committing sexual crimes against helpless Allied victims. Show them pictures, for example, of mutilated bodies, etc. An actual instance of the use of conditioning in British propaganda during the first World War was related by one of the British censorship officials years later. On one occasion when the attitude of the Chinese government was in question, there came across the desk of the British officials one day in London two

pictures. One was the picture of a pile of horses on their way to the rendering works behind the German lines. The other was a picture of a group of German dead on their way to decent Christian burial. Remembering the Chinese veneration of their ancestors and their consequent squeamishness about treatment of the dead, the British propagandists transposed the titles of those two pictures and sent the photograph of the "German dead on their way to the rendering works" to China. The Chinese were duly horrified. But it also happened that there were influential Britishers in China who had lost relatives behind the German lines. Immediately cables began arriving in London inquiring anxiously whether those relatives had been reduced to fat. Consequently, there were questions in Parliament: Did the honorable members of the government know? Etc., etc. Obviously, the honorable members of the government were on the spot. As honorable members they were not supposed to lie, but as heads of government they were supposed to win the war. They got out of it very neatly by answering that "So far as the government knows there is nothing in the German character to preclude the likelihood that such disposition of the dead is being made behind the German lines."

This is propaganda. It is not confined to words and pictures. Some of the most effective propaganda consists of *deeds*—the deliberate creation of situations which will bring out the desired responses. Perhaps the most famous example in recent history was the burning of the Reichstag building by the Nazi conspirators in 1933. This crime was perpetrated to create a "climate of opinion" favorable to the repression of the liberal elements in Germany, a "climate of opinion" which would permit Hitler to begin the building of his actual dictatorship. Propaganda of the deed has been one of the essential tools of every great statesman for ages.

So whatever one may think of all this, we must view propaganda generically as an instrument of social control that has been demonstrated to be an exceedingly powerful weapon. In itself, it is no more amoral or immoral than a pistol or a shotgun. One can use a pistol to defend himself or he can use it to stage a stick-up. Hence, for the enlistment of cooperation to advance the cause of delinquency control the making of propaganda is defi-

nitely in the picture. This does not in any way mean falsification or misstatement. It means merely that instead of publishing a bare announcement that there were twenty cases of delinquency last month, one would publish a synthetic case history, showing what a "case" means in human terms and how the neglect of parents, neighbors, and community leaders has imperiled a child's future. In other words, the bare facts of delinquency must be translated into terms of human sentiment. It is human sentiments that move men to action. A few years ago the editor of a metropolitan newspaper forced the parole board of his state to release a criminal from prison by conducting a deliberate propaganda campaign for several months based on the accusations of the prisoner's wife that the chaplain of the prison had made improper advances as the price of his recommendation for the prisoner's parole. Capitalizing on the public interest in any sex case, this editor published day after day for nearly half a year articles and interviews, every one of them pointing to the iniquity of keeping this "helpless victim"—a man who had been given five years in prison for stealing a cow—in prison one more day "suffering the torments of a loyal husband the virtue of whose wife is in danger." After withstanding the barrage of women's club petitions and public criticism for several months, the parole board finally capitulated and released the prisoner. But within another six months a small item of two lines on a back page announced that the helpless victim had been returned to prison for stealing another cow. The propaganda stories had gone on the first page under large headlines. The announcement of the collapse of the moral issue ran on an inside page under a one-line headline.

Socially valueless as that particular piece of propaganda may have been, the same technique applied to the exposure of conditions in a correctional school, or to the reform of a juvenile court, or to the recreational system or the schools can obviously achieve worth-while results. It is a dangerous method, however, to use by itself, because merely to condition people on a sentimental basis does not add to the intelligent perceptions of a community. It merely gets results. Sometimes those results are achieved at the cost of leaving unresolved conflicts repressed and hidden within the community which may later flare up to undo all that has been done. Therefore it is essential that in addition

to enlisting cooperation by emotional conditioning another method also be used.

b. *Mutual Understanding and Removal of Conflicts.*—During the last twenty years a number of studies of cooperative procedures have been made by religious and other groups interested in improving community life. It has become clear that cooperation on an intelligent democratic level is an art.[2] The essence of the art seems to be in the first place to achieve a high degree of mutual understanding. This involves almost always, wherever conflict has arisen, stripping away of verbal screens, the search for the real meanings underlying the phraseology used. Any party to a controversy always has what may be called a real position as distinguished from his controversial position. Thus, a labor organization which in a controversy insists on the limitation of output is really interested in security of jobs. Limitation of output is merely a means to an end. Make it plain that unlimited output will not bring a reduction in wages or a lay-off, and the reason for restricting output will disappear. The same is true in any controversy. The harmonizing of conflicts, therefore, involves two things: One is the *unification of conceptual demands* and the other is the *composition of emotional oppositions.* For real results there must not only be a meeting of the minds on logical grounds but at the same time a satisfaction of emotional demands. To win support a proposed solution must not only seem logical and reasonable; it must feel acceptable. Courtis, McLane, and Morrison classify conflicts as (1) *intentional,* (2) *irrational,* and (3) *rational.*[3]

(1) Intentional conflicts are those created deliberately without justification by the facts. They may be motivated by fear, greed, the egotistic pride in one's own power, etc. The most useful way of meeting them is to get the facts which prove the individual to be wrong.

[2] See M. P. Follett, *Creative Experience,* New York, 1930; Grace Coyle, *Social Process in Organized Groups,* New York, 1930; H. S. Elliott, *The Process of Group Thinking,* New York, 1928; A. D. Sheffield, *Creative Discussion,* New York, 1927, and *Joining in Public Discussion,* New York, 1922. Consult Bibliography, Appendix D.

[3] *The Teachers and Cooperation* by S. A. Courtis, E. T. McLane, Nellie Morrison; committee in charge of Yearbook on Collaboration for the National Education Association, November, 1937.

(2) Irrational conflicts are created by emotions which prevent logical reasoning. Such conflicts may be permanent when caused by abnormal or pathological experiences, or they may be temporary when caused by the disturbing influences of emotion, ambition, desire for recognition, etc., or by "distorted" values. "Distorted" values are values which represent a group norm different from the one in which the individual is called upon to function. The authors mentioned suggest that permanent conflicts are almost always beyond control so long as the cause remains. They are, in other words, expressions of personal maladjustments. Temporary conflicts, on the other hand, are beyond control only so long as passion is dominant. *One of the techniques for winning cooperation, then, is to keep the level of interaction objective and fact-minded.* This calls for considerable skill on the part of the leader, or discussion chairman. The same remedy applies also to the problem of distorted values. It is necessary to understand why the individual takes the position he does.

(3) Rational conflicts fall into five types: (i) misunderstandings; (ii) different or questionable facts; (iii) different methods; (iv) faulty reasoning; and (v) different values.

i. Misunderstandings are common among people who do not use terms carefully with singleness of reference. Interminable disputes, for example, may arise over the question of whether court statistics accurately measure "delinquency." Until the term delinquency is clearly defined, confusion is inevitable.

ii. Differences over facts frequently arise because different parties use different sources of information. Furthermore, there is usually a selection of the facts which are obtained from different sources. A legislator, for example, quotes only those parts of a letter favorable to his own cause and omits the rest of the letter which is unfavorable. The quoted portion is a "fact," but the significance of that fact may be quite different from the significance which seems to attach to it when it is read apart from the full context. So it is necessary to examine *all* the facts bearing on a particular controversy and to verify those facts.

iii. When differences arise because of different methods, the remedy so far as possible is experimentation. Frequently in social situations, however, experimentation is either impossible or so complicated and slow that decisions must be reached before the

results will normally become available. What is to be striven for under these conditions is clear recognition that decisions must be tentative, pending the results of experimentation.

iv. For faulty reasoning the obvious remedy is better reasoning; that is to say, logical analysis.

v. When values differ the problem becomes one of harmonizing through better understanding of each person's values. "Man has not yet invented a method by which it can be proved that one value is better than another."[4]

I wonder. Philosophically yes, but practically, no. Perhaps one should qualify that flat statement by saying that man *has not yet invented a method more fundamental than the test of lethal selection* by which to prove that one value is better than another. Of course nobody can prove that life is better than death, but all mankind behaves as though that little point does not need proving. Even philosophers constantly act on the assumption that it is better to be alive than to be dead. By this test, then, utility for survival, some values *are* better than others, so the problem really becomes one of determining by rational methods what values on the whole and in the long run tend to enhance life, to perpetuate it, to make it more secure. No one can *prove* that life itself is worth while; but if the average person would rather be alive than dead, i.e., if that fundamental value is accepted without proof, other values can be brought to the test, not all at once or with equal conclusiveness, but gradually as science more and more definitely demonstrates probabilities. In terms of the survival of the group, for example, it is already apparent that the value of child-bearing cannot be allowed to go below a certain point. Given the present death rate, that point is about three children per fertile marriage. To say that no method exists for determining which value is better than another is to ignore the fact that certain values are so fundamental and so widely accepted that for practical purposes they can always be used as ultimate criteria. The problem is merely to demonstrate conclusively how any other value relates to these.

c. *Democratic Cooperation.*—Democratic cooperation calls for a certain identification of personal purposes and activities with those of the group, and this identification comes hard to con-

⁴ *Ibid.,* p. 61.

firmed individualists. As the writers mentioned point out, the individual in carrying democratic cooperation needs: (1) to *exercise initiative* and carry the responsibility for the group; (2) to *be group-minded*; (3) to *censor his thinking* and action in terms of group needs and (4) to *get rid of all personal sensitivity* to criticism, neglect, etc. Specifically, he should (i) adopt the social point of view; (ii) think of himself as an organ of the group; (iii) censor his thoughts, language, and behavior, thinking always of the probable effect of everything said and done on other members of the group. He must present ideas with a minimum of possessiveness and defensiveness. He must understand the other fellow's intent as well as his contribution. He must stick to basic criticism, or as one probate judge said, "learn to keep his eye on the squirrel." Finally, (iv) he must learn to adjust to disappointment, to the failure of the group to accept suggestions and leadership, etc., without sulking, without hostility, and without bitterness.

These characteristics of democratic cooperative behavior cannot be learned by reading about them in a book. They must be practiced with constant self-criticism. They must be practiced with the deliberate intention of learning from one's own mistakes.

The task of winning cooperation, then, seems to be one of emotional conditioning on the one hand and of mutual understanding, removal of conflicts, and democratic collaboration on the other. Each method should supplement the other.

But when cooperation has been won, what is to be done with it? Cooperation without organization produces only confusion. The essence of organization is allocation of function.

4. To *allocate function* is to determine who is to make what class of decisions and who is to do what. This requires a functional analysis of the job to be done. To organize anything is to bring parts of a complex whole into functional relationships which further the achievement of the objectives. It is, let us say, a question of organizing a campaign to add a probation officer to the juvenile court. Who is to head this organization? Who is to act as executive secretary? Who is to attend to details of arranging meetings, preparing publicity, contacting influential sub-groups in the community, enlisting the interest of influential citizens, etc.? American culture provides a ready-made pattern of organization for movements of this sort. The important thing

is usually to pick the right person for the right job. Again, common experience indicates that the selection will be done more intelligently if it is performed by a small steering committee rather than by a large mass meeting or similar group. The problem here is not one of utter democracy but of efficient democracy, getting the most effective person into the right function. A large meeting, especially if the different candidates are themselves present, can seldom canvass their respective qualifications frankly enough or fully enough to make intelligent selections.

5. It is a definite function of leadership to arouse *esprit de corps* and to maintain *morale*. Esprit de corps is belief in and enthusiasm for the group. Morale is the staying quality of the group, its determination to see the problem through at whatever cost.

The history of group organization throughout the ages exemplifies almost innumerable devices for arousing esprit de corps. There is, of course, the obvious value of a *group name*. Usually it should be one suggesting positive qualities and arousing a minimum of hostility on the part of outsiders. Then there is the *visible representation*—a picture or emblem, symbolizing the name and group. The Elephant, the Donkey, the Bull Moose are examples. The group must be *rationalized and explained* to its own members and to the outside world. Hence the need of a *group history* and the value of a group tradition. Closely related to this is the matter of group *ideology*. An ideology states the purposes and the hopes and aspirations for which the group has been organized. Here the *social myth* enters the picture. The social myth may be called the emotionalized ideology of the group. It tends to idealize the virtues of the group and to emphasize the defects of the opposition. This is, of course, best exemplified by the myth developed by each of the warring powers in any war, and by the myths that have grown up on both sides in the labor movement. Every group tends to idealize itself and to dehumanize its opponents. Labor struggles for "justice," "democracy," "fair play." Employers hire strong-arm men in the name of "law and order," "the American way," "liberty." The more emotional the conflict, the more emotionally charged are the rival myths. But some mythologizing, some emotionalizing of an ideology, seems to be necessary to create esprit de corps.

Morale is the subtle hardening of purpose. It is more than a mere enthusiasm for a group and its purposes, more than an enthusiastic sense of identification with the group. It is what may be called the *standing determination to carry through*. Football coaches, military commanders, explorers and leaders of all kinds have been distinguished by an almost intuitive grasp of the objective and subjective conditions necessary to morale. In one situation it will be an outstanding act of personal heroism. In another it will be the simplicity and frankness with which all are challenged to meet the problem as their own. However it is done, it must be done if the group is to function cohesively for any length of time.

Perhaps one of the fundamental requirements is to create what one may call the *illusion of invincibility and success*. Thus, a football coach facing a team with a long record of physical injuries behind it and a dispirited outlook on the coming season, capitalized on the current popularity of the Coué formula, "Every day in every way I get better and better." Confronted by a boy hobbling off the field with a broken collar bone, the coach called the squad together and told them, "The man who won't be hurt, can't be hurt!" Thereupon the team went through *two full seasons* without ever taking time out for an injured player! Whenever a lad was hurt so badly that he couldn't get up for the next scrimmage, he would be propped up play by play till he came to. The team won two state championships. That ~,as an example of building morale. Any leader setting out to raise the adjustment efficiency of his community agencies would do well to profit from such examples.

6. *Releasing and directing action* is the next step. All this winning cooperation, organizing it, and building esprit de corps and morale would be useless unless ultimately it could be translated into *action*. That means certain particular individuals must do certain things at certain definite times and places in certain more or less definite ways. It is a function of leadership to determine who shall do what and to release and direct action at the proper psychological moment. What the action shall be, who shall perform it, how it shall be carried through, and at whom it shall be directed are all matters of *tactics*. The great leaders of history have been characterized by an almost intuitive grasp of situations

with which they were dealing and an almost uncanny sense of timing. This was particularly true of Lenin and of Hitler. Time and again it was Lenin alone who stood between the Bolshevik leaders and premature action which would have ruined everything. Hitler's sense of the strategic moment to precipitate a new crisis was one of the eye-opening characteristics of post-depression Europe.

Suppose, for example, that you are building up to a demand on the board of supervisors for a new probation officer. A juvenile delinquent, who is under what locally passes for probationary supervision, wrecks a train or sets fire to a public building. In other words, he commits a rather dramatic act which attracts attention. Shall you or someone representing your movement seize upon that incident as a means of dramatizing your problem to the community? That is a practical question in tactics. If you issue a statement or make a public speech concerning the obvious moral of the case, you run the risk of arousing hostility and throwing the old regime on the defensive. If you say nothing, you run the risk of losing a golden opportunity to dramatize the issue. Either course involves risks. If you run the risk of conflict, is your community well enough educated on the issues involved to rise to your proposed solution? Have you won enough backing to force a decision then? If you say nothing, can you reasonably hope to accomplish your aim later without public fanfare and open conflict? These are all questions of tactics involved in releasing and directing action.

7. *Appraising Results.*—You have, let us say, through cooperation and organization, through arousing esprit de corps and maintaining morale, and through timely action brought your proposed solution into use. Now you are faced with the question, is it adequate? Is it working satisfactorily? Is it doing the job? This is the problem of appraisals. Two distinct levels of appraisal should be distinguished: the administrative and the scientific.

a. *Administrative Appraisals.*—On the administrative level one seeks a total picture of what has been done, what volume of effort has been expended, at what cost, and with what results. A guidance clinic, for example, will want to know how many cases in a given area have been examined, what recommendations have been made, what recommendations have been executed, and

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what improvement or deteriorations have occurred in the adjust-
ment of the patients. This was the sort of thing done by Dr. Healy
and reported in *Treatment and What Happened Afterwards*.[5]
Such appraisals are in no sense scientific. They do not really
appraise the work of the clinic as such. They merely *describe* what
has been done and what are its apparent results. But they do not
tell what would have happened to these cases had such treatment
not been given, or what did happen to similar cases which went
untreated.

b. *Scientific Appraisals.*—Scientific appraisals always involve at
least an attempt to control or to evaluate all factors other than
the one that is being appraised. Almost always in programs of
social action this is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. The
best that can be done is to approximate scientific appraisal. For
any delinquency-prevention movement the problem is one not so
much of scientific appraisal as of administrative appraisal. It is
always useful, however, to bear in mind that when an adminis-
trative appraisal shows apparent improvement or deterioration in
the cases worked with, the influence of extraneous factors has not
been ruled out. If one is to make honest propaganda one must
not claim that because delinquency has decreased following the
institution of a bigger recreational program or the employment
of psychiatric social workers the recreational program or the
psychiatric social workers necessarily did it. Allowance must al-
ways be made for the factors which have not been controlled.

SOME SPECIFIC LEADERSHIP CENTERS

(1) Civic organizations, (2) newspapers, and (3) radio are agen-
cies of the utmost importance, in arousing the community to its
shortcomings in delinquency prevention. (4) The local library
also has a rôle to play.

1. *Civic Organizations.*—Luncheon clubs, women's clubs, Amer-
ican Legion posts, the P.T.A., and similar organizations can gear
into juvenile delinquency prevention in at least twelve ways:[6]

First. Make child-adjustment a major objective of your club. If you
don't like to think about delinquency, remember that every child has to
come to terms with the life about him—and the better community you
make, the better *every* child's chances of becoming a useful citizen.

[5] Boston, 1939.

Make child adjustment, adjustment for all children, an objective—then make it come true by pitching in to *strengthen every agency that helps that adjustment*: the police, the juvenile court, the schools, the leisure time agencies, the churches, the family case work agencies, and all the rest. How?

The best way of attacking the problem is through a Community Council or Coordinating Council. If there is none in your town, your biggest job would be to start one; if there is one, your club should join it at once. If there is no Delinquency Prevention Committee in your council, see that one is organized and have your club represented on it.

Second: If you do not have a Council and feel that its formation is beyond your club's resources, or if it is already functioning and your club would like some specific task in connection with its efforts, do one of the following things.

    I. *Call on your school board* and find out if it has made provision for identifying and giving special treatment to children with behavior problems. If it has, you may be able to assist; if it hasn't, urge that this be done immediately. Any school can use the California School Child Guidance Conference techniques.

    II. *Visit your social agencies*—the welfare office, Red Cross, Salvation Army, character building groups such as Camp Fire Girls and Boy Scouts, community centers, charitable organizations, probate court, etc., regularly to see that they are helping problem children adjust themselves. If nothing is being done in this respect, see if your club can suggest a way of providing such service.

    III. *Investigate the opportunities for leisure time activity in your community for boys and girls.* Are the schools open at night? Do the churches have mid-week activities for youth? Is a club of boys or girls provided with adequate quarters and suitable adult leadership? Are playgrounds supervised? Are handicraft classes available? Are N.Y.A. and W.P.A. programs providing recreation and vocational training programs?

    IV. *Find out* whether your city government is alert to the need for proper housing, sanitation and health regulations in your poorer districts. If not, bring that matter to their attention.

    V. *Visit the editors of your newspapers* and invite them to help you acquaint the people of your community with the need for adequate recreation, housing and child guidance in the schools. Work out with them a program of publicity on community needs, after you have studied needs and ways of meeting them. Cooperate in any way you can with the press to make the public realize the importance of home conditions, leisure time activities and adult

leadership in preventing problem children from becoming crim-
inals. If you encounter indifference, dig up the facts and present
information that will compel attention from editors, public offi-
cials, other local organizations.

VI. *Find out* from the schools and local social agencies what children
need money to attend summer camp, or to be sent to clinics, etc.
Assist in meeting that need and ask the aid of other clubs.

VII. *Check up* with your local librarian to see what books on delin-
quency and mental hygiene are available to parents and club
program chairmen in your town.

VIII. *Set up* a "toy library" in the poorer districts to *lend* toys to poor
children as an ordinary library lends books. (Toys must be prop-
erly sterilized after each loan.) This idea is working in scores of
cities from California to New York.

IX. *Check up* on the prevalence of salacious literature in your town.
Distribution of "cartoon books" and similar lewd material has
become a racket, exploited by the underworld of the big cities and
reaching into the remotest rural districts. Your town isn't too
little or too refined to be included in the racket. Find out. If you
want to know what happens when children reach such filth look
it up in Courtney Riley Cooper's *Designs in Scarlet*.

X. *Make the most of your club's prestige and influence*. Capitalize
on the things clubs are good at, namely, leadership and influence
And stay away from the things they are not good at, namely,
amateur case work. Organize to act as Brothers or Big Sisters to
normal children, if you so desire, by all means. But don't take on
any maladjusted children who need expert understanding and
treatment. Your most efficient aid for problem children can be
rendered not by trying to act as substitutes for trained workers
but by leading your community to employ trained workers.

XI. *Give your leadership groups a shot in the arm* by having them
rate your town's *delinquency-prevention readiness* against "best
practice" in the United States. Be prepared for a definite defla-
tion of local pride when you face the facts.

XII. *Don't give up*, or be lulled into inactivity by "patent medicines."
No one program is enough. Back of every maladjusted child is a
maladjusted home and a maladjusted town. Work for coordinated
action of all agencies all along the front—*but keep working*.[6]

[6] Adapted from *Child Adjustment Through Community Coordination—the
Modern Club Objective*, the Delinquency Prevention Council of Michigan,
1940, Karl Zeisler, secretary.

2. *The Local Newspapers.*—Newspapers control the attention of a community. One newspaper editor thoroughly aroused to the seriousness of this problem could organize any community in thirty days. Without becoming a crusader, however, any editor can do his bit by giving space to real news about the fight on delinquency.

How many juvenile delinquents does your town have each year?

Where are spots on a delinquency spot map the thickest?

Where are they the thinnest?

Will local people comment on these differences and the reasons for them?

What is being done to meet the problem?

How many probation cases does your local probation officer have to look after? How does this compare with the fifty-case maximum that social work experts regard as the upper limit of individual efficiency?

Can the school people make any suggestions concerning improvements that might help to cut the delinquency rate?

What do the ministers think about the situation?

It is quite unnecessary to ask such questions—or to answer them—in a censorious way. *The wrong way to go at the delinquency problem is to begin by creating a conflict situation.* Conflicts may be necessary eventually, but we can get ahead faster if we don't have to stop to fight each other on the way. Every conflict creates two camps, each seeking victory *over the other fellow.*

What we are after in this movement is *fewer delinquent boys and girls*—and the more cooperation and the less conflict we have on the way the better.

The newspaper that is merely out to print a "good story" on delinquency may unconsciously be aiding and abetting crime because the surest way to create a good story is to stir up a community controversy. What is needed in combating delinquency is not a community row, with the ministers or the women's clubs calling some official names, and the newspaper gleefully printing the whole business—that sort of thing can easily kill progress in delinquency prevention for years. What we need is the assumption on the part of everybody that the other fellows want to help children just about as much as we do ourselves. and that if we

all get together and forget differences in methods for the time being we may be able to make a beginning in the right direction.

In California, in Michigan, and in other states, the juvenile courts, the police, and the schools have taken the lead in starting this movement to reduce delinquency. Curiously enough, while newspapers have been very much concerned with the problem of crime, most of them have taken little or no leadership in the fight to control delinquency. Outstanding exceptions in Michigan are the *Detroit News*, under W. S. Gilmore and Fred Gaertner; the *Jackson Citizen Patriot*, of Jackson, Michigan, under Carl M. Saunders, and the *Monroe Evening News*, of Monroe, Michigan, under Karl Zeisler.

3. *Radio.*—The nearest radio station can be of great assistance, if convinced that influential people are sincerely interested in the delinquency problem. Local advertisers might include reference to delinquency in their programs. The station itself might give some time to talks by local leaders on the subject. An interview over the air with social workers would be worth while. *Delinquents themselves, of course, should be kept off the air, as they should be kept in the background generally, for obvious reasons of exhibitionism and notoriety.*

Stations that have been of outstanding aid to the delinquency control movement in Michigan include WWJ. *The Detroit News*; WJR, also in Detroit; CKLW in Windsor, Ont.; and WKAR, the Michigan State College station. East Lansing.

4. *The Library.*—The local library has an important function to perform in broadening the background of local leadership by making available the literature on juvenile delinquency. Every library board owes it to the community to check up on its supply of books on delinquency, crime, and personality maladjustment. A selected list of titles will be found at the end of this book. How many of them are in your library?

Not only should the books be *in* the library, but they should be placed on special shelves *accessible to the public*, lists of them should be published in the local paper and sent to the luncheon clubs, the Women's Club, the American Legion, and similar organizations; and special reading lists of recent magazine articles on delinquency should be prepared, mimeographed, and distributed.

It would also be desirable for the library to display charts and maps showing local delinquency conditions. These probably can be obtained through the cooperation of the social science classes of the local high school or the local junior college, once the Board of Education and the superintendent of schools understand the need for such materials.

How It Actually Works

All this is very fine on paper, but can it be done? The detailed description of how it actually worked in one small Michigan community of 18,000, namely, Monroe, has been provided by one of the men mainly responsible, Karl Zeisler, managing editor of the *Monroe Evening News.*

The situation out of which the Monroe Deliquency Prevention Movement emerged was substantially this: A dozen delinquents had crashed the front page at the same time one day in 1935. So the county librarian, a Red Cross worker, the Salvation Army captain, two school principals, and the local newspaper editor, got together one night to find out what could be done for the young people in their town. In so acting, they constituted themselves a *nucleus of leadership.* The difficulties encountered and the techniques used during the next four years are described by Mr. Zeisler as follows:

Was it necessary, in our town, for a dozen youngsters to spend their spare time playing the villains in an endless Dick Tracy episode?

We had to admit that for all we knew, it probably was necessary. We couldn't put our collective finger on a single thing the community was doing to make haloes more attractive than naughtiness. The only bright lights across the tracks glowed in beer gardens—and worse places; the only amusement afforded youngsters was in the somewhat questionable attractions out of Hollywood; the only distinction worthy of emulation in that area was getting sent to jail. Everything that might inspire an ambitious youngster to grow up to be president was blacked out; churches, schools, meeting places were all dark after sunset, and in all frankness we couldn't blame the youngsters for finding self-expression in window-breaking or car-pilfering.

We asked the advice of sociologists at the University; then starting with spot maps, six determined delinquency-preventers went to work in our town. Some of the pins we punched into the spot maps ourselves, such as the risk-factors and their antidotes, from dens of vice to vacant

lots convertible into playgrounds. Other pins we got the W.P.A. to punch for us, for we found that under the recreation program the W.P.A. can do a lot of spadework in a delinquency survey, and there'll be no shovel-leaning if you pick an energetic supervisor. W.P.A. furnished the workers, we furnished the pencils and thumb-tacks. In no time we had a collection of maps that told a graphic story of why Monroe youngsters were landing in jail with disconcerting frequency. Even more compelling was an amateur movie of housing conditions across the tracks.

We decided to start our prevention program on the Western Front of the luncheon clubs. The knights of the knife and fork gasped at our movies and gazed at the maps till the spots wore off—then somebody got up and moved that the president appoint a committee!

"BEWARE OF COMMITTEES"

That was Mistake No. 1. We'd fired our barrage, and scared out only a timid rabbit of a committee. *Beware of committees!* They grow on every bush. Go to any extreme you like, but if you want to prevent delinquency in your town, shun committees like the plague.

But long before the committees got their names in the paper, *Mistake No. 2* popped up. We were visited by delegations from the spottiest section of our maps.

"What are you trying to do?" they asked us, "show up the East End for having *all* the tough kids?"

That the East End had a very valuable asset in civic pride had escaped us entirely. It took us a year to live that mistake down.

When next the maps went on display East End leaders were present. They told their side of the story, and they had a chance to point out the uptown landlords who were partly responsible for housing conditions and to ask for the playgrounds and clinics and police protection they needed themselves. We moved heaven and earth—and not a few pins on those maps—to get them on our side.

Our mistakes gradually made us realize that while nine people out of ten in any town can be appalled by a recital of evil conditions—only a few active leaders can undertake the job of correcting them. So when next we wheeled out our maps we aimed them at carefully selected leaders, instead of firing broadside at entire clubs. We combed the membership of every active organization in town, picking out one or two men or women from each whom we knew wouldn't stop with moving-to-have-a-committee-appointed. Then we invited them to an important meeting, being careful not to specify what it was for. Long before the mayor rapped for order every detail of that meeting had

been planned in advance, assigned to specific individuals and even rehearsed down to the last motion and second. An hour after it started, the ammunition had been fired, much of it by East Siders themselves— a dozen motions had been made, and the 75 real leaders present found themselves members of the Community Council, headed by a selected steering board of seven members.

The next day *prevention* landed on the front page. The six delin-quency-preventers heaved a sigh and sat back to watch the wheels go round. And they did.

The Community Council, which gets together once a year to hear how things are going so they can report back to their clubs, accom-plished an amazing number of changes in our community. Meeting informally as often as necessary, the steering group acts as a clearing house for jobs that need doing: sponsorship of an outing or a Scout troop; furnishing a clubroom or volunteer leaders; paying for tonsil operations or getting cars to take youngsters to a hospital. It calls school, city, police and court officials into its meetings to see how things are going and to suggest improvements.

It makes mistakes, too, as when it tried to get the courts, police and schools to exchange case information before the agencies were ready for this step. But it profits by its mistakes. By its trial and error method, and aided by a gradual community awakening all along the line, here are some of the things that have been accomplished in three years in Monroe.

The Things Accomplished

I. When the city licensed liquor places it was an ideal opportunity to argue that the revenue be used to help offset the liabilities, and a community recreation program was set up, its budget equalling the license fees.

II. The W.P.A. recreation project furnished leaders for a 400-member Boys Club. A savings and loans company donated the building! state and federal agencies paid for a trained child welfare worker.

III. The school board saw the light and set up a branch library in the East End, expanded its night school program, established an orthopedic room.

IV. The N.Y.A. furnished power tools to put 75 youngsters at work making new street signs, park benches and traffic signs.

V. The county library board has almost won a fight for adequate funds out of penal fine money that was formerly wasted by district school boards on unneeded encyclopedias.

VI. **Community** Fourth of July and Hallowe'en celebrations are sponsored and financed by the recreation board.

VII. **County** cooperation and the enterprise of Probate Judge Cron secured the services of the Michigan Child Guidance Institute's traveling clinic.

VIII. The federal and state employment service offered vocational guidance to unemployed youngsters.

IX. Welfare agencies have started to pool their case records—a beginning, we hope, of a complete coordination of all agencies not only for delinquency prevention, but looking to rehabilitation of the supposedly hopeless unemployables.

All this hasn't completely prevented delinquency in Monroe. But nearly everyone in town knows about delinquency now, and through their club affiliations, many people are doing something abo⌐ ⌐t.

DETAILS OF SALESMANSHIP

Don't get the idea you won't encounter opposition. Welcome it. Opposition is far easier to fight than indifference. In fighting against open opposition of the kind offered by the worried taxpayer—and don't forget he's just as sincere as you are; it's *his* pocketbook, after all—you have a tremendous weapon on your side. To use it. just figure how much your prevention program will cost for each youngster in town, and compare that with the cost of sending *one* delinquent boy to Lansing, or *one* delinquent girl to Adrian.

What are you going to do about indifference, if you should run into it in official quarters? There again you have *all* the heavy artillery on your side. In this case the siege gun is Public Opinion. But it takes skill to use it. You can't move an inch toward prevention if you don't get the public on your side. That was our mistake in needlessly offending the leaders from across the tracks. But with public opinion back of your program, no elected official, no public agency, can resist your influence.

If you suspect you are going to find your courts, your police, your probation office, your schools, reluctant to change their ways—and be sure their ways need changing before you tackle them—the simplest way of overcoming their indifference or resistance is to get them on your side right at the start. *Start your discussions with the juvenile judge, the police chief, the sheriff, the probation officer and the school superintendent all present.* After all. they know far more about the problem than you do. Accept their findings and suggestions. and see if they won't respond when you offer to help them solve those problems. Then, if you have public opinion behind your program you have a

solid foundation to work from. If they still don't respond—well, public opinion can take care of that.

You'll run into stumps in your path. Look for them—the inertia of existing organizations that resent new movements as an implication that they aren't doing their job; the lightweight who attaches himself or herself to such movements for the prestige; and the conservatives with whom you must fight from the very beginning or your whole program will be a victim of the next "economy wave."

Work *with* existing groups. Handpick your leaders to weed out the lightweights and committeemen. Get the public on your side, by taking it into your confidence from the start. You aren't trying to set up a new organization or start a program, but to make an entire community aware of its problem and willing to tackle it by every force at its command.

You will be surprised at some of the unexpected cooperation you get. Everyone is interested in boys and girls—nearly everyone would like to do something for them. Look for help from individual ministers, doctors, industrialists, business men—not from the entire groups they represent. But don't try to win over the whole medical society or chamber of commerce. Win the leaders. Count on the politicians too—as a rule they're far more interested in the underprivileged and youngsters than professional reformers. Besides, they hold the municipal purse strings. And right now there is a host of federal and state agencies eager to help—the N.Y.A., C.C.C., W.P.A., the University, the state welfare department, the state police, the state-federal employment service. Get them all into your picture.

Start with a small discussion group, include your officials, consult the experts, learn the facts about your own community, handpick your leaders, and your town will have a delinquency prevention program in operation. It won't cut crime overnight; it will cost money, time and effort. It may not show tangible results for a decade but you will be training the only weapons known on crime at its source, and fulfilling your community's responsibility to its youth.[7]

The All-important Determination to Stay with It

When one analyzes the procedures of these Monroe leaders, it becomes apparent that they began with the all-important determination to function as a center of initiative in the community *till the problem was solved.* That was the first and most impor-

[7] From a paper read at the Saginaw conference of the Delinquency Prevention Council of Michigan, October 13, 1939, as published in *The Delinquency News Letter,* October, 1939.

tant step. *Constructive social action begins with the appearance of a determined nucleus of leadership to crystallize and direct the dissatisfaction or unrest inherent in the problem situation.* What happens from there on is determined by many things, among the most important of which are the skill and insight of the members of this nucleus of leadership, and their willingness to learn from their own mistakes. Along with other functions of leadership, the Monroe experience illustrates all this very well.

It also illustrates something else, which only the politically minded usually appreciate. This is the absolute necessity of adapting social action to a preexisting structure, or pattern, of community relationships. The broad outlines of this structure or pattern are, of course, laid down by our culture. But within that broad outline each community develops its own individual pattern, built out of its own peculiar *history*, its own *economic and social needs*, and its own *constellation of important personalities.* No outsider, *while he remains an outsider,* can possibly appreciate the nuances and delicate overtones of any local action-situation: the particular traditions that must *not* be violated; the particular network of local interests that must *never* be set vibrating too violently; the particular constellations of important personalities who must be *brought along.* All this we must try inadequately to put into words in the next chapter.[8]

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What types of directive initiative have been distinguished?
2. What are the functions of directive initiative?
3. Where does this book fit into the functions of leadership?
4. What methods of enlisting cooperation have been suggested? Distinguish carefully between them.
5. Explain the nature of propaganda.
6. Is it morally justifiable to make propaganda for a worthy cause?
7. What fundamental processes are involved in harmonizing conflicts?
8. What is involved in democratic cooperation?
9. Explain how one arouses esprit de corps. What devices are used?
10. What is morale? How does one build or maintain morale?
11. What is the importance of timing in social action?

[8] Among interesting examples of community leadership that might be cited from many cities, the report of the Brightmoor Community Center in Detroit for 1940 may be mentioned specifically, as edited by Mr. George Alder, director.

12. How would you distinguish between the types of appraisals mentioned in the chapter?

13. What leadership centers can one find in an ordinary community?

14. Name five specific things that a civic club can do for delinquency control.

15. How can newspapers help?

16. Why not let delinquents speak over the radio?

17. What are the functions of a library in social action?

18. Outline the procedures of the leaders in Monroe in attempting to control delinquency. What do you regard as crucial steps in their procedures?

19. How would you sum up the problem of leadership in relation to social action?

20. What are the elements of the community action-situation?

The Structure of Community Action

THE CULTURAL OUTLINES OF THE PATTERN

For present purposes the field of social action in any American community may be broken down into seven areas.

1. The mores, or the compulsive expectations of a community.
2. The legal framework.
3. The service pattern.
4. Local influence groups.
5. Centers of influence.
6. Controllers of public attention.
7. Political leaders.

1. *The Mores.*—Sociologists and ethnologists have made us familiar with the wide range of conduct controlled by the mores. For present purposes we may confine ourselves to five outstanding aspects: (a) *private capitalism*; (b) *monogamy*; (c) *Christianity*; (d) *nationalism*; and (e) the *private moral code*.

a. The compulsive expectations regarding the maintenance of private capitalism constitute definite limitations on the range of social action in any American community. To be branded as a socialist or a "red" is immediately to violate these compulsive expectations. Even to exceed the current stereotyped expectations concerning the scope of government and the need of economy is to narrow the circle of people who are willing to cooperate. Hence, even a program which is designed to strengthen capitalism by removing some of its abuses must be careful to keep within the limit of what is ordinarily regarded as "sound governmental policy." It is at this point that the traditional rôle of accounting as a device for controlling private business betrays its greatest weakness. *There is no such thing as social accounting.* Public finance is conducted in terms of dollar income and outgo. But the profit and loss to a community in reducing the death rate, controlling syphilis, abolishing slums, or controlling crime

and delinquency—these things do not show up on any ledger in any city hall in America. *There is very great need of extending the concept of accounting to units of social, as well as economic, significance.*

b. Next to private property perhaps the most unchallengeable institution in any community is the institution of monogamy. As Thurman Arnold has shown, there is always a gap between the symbols of an institution and its actual practice. This is true with monogamy. But everywhere the compulsive expectation is that the only socially sanctioned sexual relationships of men and women should occur in the monogamous relation. Everywhere the covert fear that the sex drive may break through the accepted pattern manifests itself in the intense interest that attaches to any violation of the code and the intense condemnation that descends upon the head of any detected violator. Hence the denunciation heaped on Bertrand Russell when he was appointed to a chair of mathematics in New York City College. Russell had been an out-spoken advocate of extra-marital relations—a definite challenge to the traditional conception of monogamy. Leaders seeking to enlist · cooperation and to raise the level of delinquency control in their community must deal gingerly with any facts or conditions which threaten the cherished trust that sexual behavior is actually con-forming to the coercive expectations of the community. Thus, a school principal who discovers evidence that his students have been using contraceptives must be exceedingly discrete in the use which he makes of such information. Many good people in their determination to believe in the traditional sexual patterns would much prefer to dismiss the principal rather than to face the facts which challenge those patterns.

c. The Christian ideology is another of the cultural compulsives which must be taken into account. There is some evidence that these compulsions are somewhat more demanding in the smaller communities and in the South than in the larger cities and in the North. But almost everywhere a certain reverence for traditional religious ideas is a prerequisite for community influence.

d. Patriotism, or identification with the symbols of national unity and power, is another prerequisite of influence. Unfortu-nately, the criteria of real service to the common good are so vague and many issues are so confusing that the symbols of the

common good are not infrequently used to cloak enterprises of subversive character. At the same time, however, to be placed in the position of being unable to use those symbols or to be openly accused of being an enemy of the American people is to come into conflict with one of the most powerful coercive expectations of American communities.

e. The private moral code demanded of its leaders by American communities is again an expression of desire. Men demand of their leaders greater rectitude in social dependability than they are usually able to count on in themselves. Hence the fear that all public men have of "being framed."

2. *The Legal Framework.*—The more coercive and definitely formulated rules of conduct sanctioned by the mores have been enacted into law. To enforce the law there are sheriffs, police officers, and courts. Moreover, the American people have expressed their expectations concerning education of their children in the form of laws establishing schools and requiring attendance to certain ages. To care for families when they become dependent there are legally established welfare agencies. For special services there are clinics and hospitals. All of these various bodies have administrative heads who in turn have definite ideas about their own functions and prerogatives. It is impossible to make any proposal in any community concerning the welfare of children without touching on the field of some official charged by law with certain responsibilities in that field. To make any such suggestions, therefore, without expecting reactions from men who are working in the field is a bit naïve.

3. *The Service Pattern.*—Beyond the legally established agencies there are various privately supported agencies frequently working together through some such organization as a council of social agencies, and in several hundred American cities supported by a financing organization known as the Community Chest or Community Fund. Over the course of several generations there has gradually evolved a considerable body of tradition and technology concerning the functions and methodology of these various agencies. Again, executives and workers in these agencies have definite ideas about their own functions, the proper techniques to be used, and the scope of their activities. Those expectations must be taken into account.

4. *Local Influence Groups.*—Every community of any size in the United States has literally hundreds of private organizations. There are chambers of commerce, labor unions, trades and labor councils, service clubs, women's clubs, American Legion posts, fraternal organizations, church societies, etc. Each of these has its own particular objectives, but practically all of them have an incidental interest in community affairs. Many of them are made up of public officials and the executives of local corporations, or the wives of these functionaries. That means that their private opinions on public affairs are important. Any important proposal for social action must take account of these people. For reasonable chances of success it must have the support of many of them.

5. *Centers of Influence.*—American culture being what it is, dominated by pecuniary motives, the owners and managers of business concerns, and especially big business concerns, carry great influence. Their business decisions affect the prosperity of thousands of their fellow citizens, and their favor or disfavor can make or mar the fortunes of professional men and politicians. For various reasons, their attitudes easily find reflection in the local press. Therefore, although they are very frequently "too busy" to pay much attention to the ordinary functioning of public and private agencies, any proposal to alter the functioning of those agencies or to spend money to make them more efficient immediately attracts the attention of the men and women who dominate the community. Hence the importance of winning the support of the leaders of this group.

6. *Controllers of Public Attention.*—Editors, radio executives, and prominent clergymen rank as controllers of public attention. They determine what problems shall be thrown forward into the public notice. More important still, they give the cues to the rest of the community as to what attitudes are "right," "constructive," "sensible," and what ones are not. They function as leaders, defining the situation, proposing solutions, and not infrequently trying to enlist cooperation. Only occasionally do they, like Father Coughlin, go on to encourage organizations to carry through their ideas. But at least they are important in presenting issues and "slanting" the reactions of the community. It would seem to be

the merest common sense for anybody who desires to change the functioning of delinquency-control institutions in any community to come to terms with the editors, the radio executives, and the ministers very early in the process.

7. *Political Leaders.*—Political personages constitute another group of individuals whose influence very definitely must be sought. Delinquency control is obviously a non-political matter. Democrats and Republicans alike agree that delinquency is undesirable. Yet the ultimate difficulty is that more efficient methods inevitably mean less political control of the police, the courts, the probation system, and the schools. This is partially offset by the fact that politicians gain power by "selling" platforms to the voters. When delinquency control becomes popular, when people demand more efficiency and are willing to vote for it, political support will follow.

COMMUNITY DIFFERENCES IN READINESS TO ACT

In the setting which we have sketched the task of moving a community to action is primarily a problem of *enlisting the active interest and support of community leaders and leadership groups.* Communities differ enormously in the sensitivity of local leaders to local social problems. Such differences are usually determined by the presence or absence of a few individuals of social vision and force of character. Where such individuals are present, the problem of getting active local cooperation is always much simpler than in communities where leading citizens think almost exclusively in terms of economics or dramatic foreign events. At the lowest level of readiness are communities in which the so-called natural leaders are not yet aware that there is a local youth problem or a problem concerning the behavior of children. Such communities were much more common before the depression of the 1930's than they were afterward. At the other extreme are communities in which leaders not only know that there is a local problem of delinquency control but have defined their problem for themselves, have taken stock of their own resources, and have begun an active attack on the problem. In between those two extremes will be found all degrees of alertness and willingness to spend money.

THE FIRST OBJECTIVES

The nature of the local situation will determine what specific objectives are most readily attainable. Always and everywhere it may be taken for granted that *the strengthening of existing law-enforcement, corrective, educational, recreational, and readjustive services must be one of the fundamental objectives of any realistic delinquency-control movement.* This is one of the most important reasons for improving agency and community cooperation. A coordinating council, facing the totality of the delinquency problem in its community, is inevitably driven to feel the need of strengthening existing services. That is one gain—the growth in the understanding of community leaders concerning their own community's needs. But even more important is the fact that functioning in a coordinated council such deepened understanding *is associated with the power of community action.* That is the fundamental justification for the organized cooperation of agencies with one another *and with lay leaders.* We shall discuss this in more detail in Chapter XV.

Meanwhile a fundamental difficulty inherent in the community situation demands attention.

THE NEED OF NEW CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION

Much of the maladjustment in community institutions, much of the cultural lag, can be traced not so much to· individual wickedness, want of social vision, or even vested interests as to a cumulative *breakdown in communication.* Perhaps one should say *a cumulative breakdown in communication and a cultural lag in education.* But this cultural lag itself is probably due in turn to the breakdown in communication. The point is simply that in the small rural village people are brought into face-to-face contact with one another and into direct contact with the conditions under which they live. But as the scope of cooperation widens from the neighborhood to the service community and ultimately to the region, the state, the nation, and the world market, contact shifts more and more from direct experience to symbolical experience, and the probability even of symbolical experience with any given event decreases. When the village blacksmith's helper quit, the experience even for the neighbors was direct and

personal. Everybody knew everybody else and some knew that the boy had quit. But when 10,000 General Motors employes quit, the experience for everyone not connected with the factory is highly indirect, impersonal, and fortuitous. They must *read about it* in the paper, *hear* it over the radio, or *see glimpses* of it in the newsreels—*and they may easily miss it altogether.*

Three generations ago the economic activities of most Americans were confined to subsistence farming or to the simple exchanges that went on in the local neighborhoods. Any derangement in exchange itself was immediately discovered and the factors involved were reasonably self-evident. As getting a living, however, became part of a great process of capitalistic production for pecuniary profit, and getting one's own share of production came to depend more and more on a complicated process called a market, the various conditions controlling the activities of that market became for the individual producer and consumer not only more complex but more and more distant and obscure. Access to the actual conditions affecting the price of grain on the Chicago market or the wage rate for a day's work on a stamp press is obviously many times more difficult than access to the conditions controlling the volume of the local harvest ready for the reaping or the quality of a pair of horseshoes made by the village blacksmith. Despite the enormous increase in the capacity of communicative devices to transmit symbolical impulses and in the speed with which such impulses can be transmitted, the actual references communicated, relative to the situations demanding adjustment, are much more limited and attenuated than was the case under simpler conditions. We transmit more stimuli referring to distant scenes by telegraph, by radio, by television than was possible in the days of George Washington. But in the meantime, the details of the distant scene have become so enormously more complex in their implications that *more of that scene gets left out.* Hence, every day of our lives, we are going about affected by all kinds of influences and conditions beyond the horizon, thanks to modern communication and modern transportation, but *we are far less vitally in touch with those influences than was George Washington with the much narrower environment to which he had to adjust himself.* Consequently a large share of the cultural lag which we see all about us is due not so much to human

perversity and wickedness or even *habit* as to the failure of communication to keep pace with the enlargement of the world whose influences impinge upon us.

So to make an effective attack on the problem of delinquency control it is necessary to improve not only the *educational background* of leaders but the *communicative channels* to them.

Now for most of his information about the more complicated aspects of his community life the ordinary citizen relies on his newspaper. Ironically enough, because it is now possible for an American newspaper reader to know in a few minutes of the Munich capitulation or the end of the Russo-Finn War, it is that much harder for him to become informed about the deplorable tenements in the next ward. There is not only the little detail of having only twenty-four hours a day in which to attend to everything, but there is also the matter of local news having to fight for attention in a wider attention-market. The narrower a paper's circulation, the more attention it tends to give to neighborhood affairs. Hence, the weeklies are still the strongholds of the "personal" while the great dailies subordinate local affairs to national and foreign news.

. This is obviously bad enough, for clearly the wider the world from which you choose, the more selective your choice must be. But there is an even more seriously limiting factor. By and large, newspapers are not interested in publishing descriptions of *conditions*. The newspaper tradition has never conceived that to be their function. They have always endeavored either to interpret or to describe *events*. When automobile workers strike, for example, that is an event; but the wage rates and the speed of the assembly line are only conditions. Therefore, the events of the strike will be described in great detail while the conditions which gave rise to those events will be almost completely ignored. News in the American newspaper tradition has been defined as the unusual or the generally important. Since events more nearly and more consistently meet that definition than do conditions, the emphasis in the average newspaper is on events rather than on conditions.

This is not due to any perversity on the part of newspaper editors or publishers. It is due to the psychological peculiarities of readers. As a matter of economic survival American newspaper-

men have found that the way to sell their wares is to *interest* readers; and readers, unfortunately, are more interested in events than they are in conditions. It is only in the light of events that conditions can be made to interest them at all. This means, if it means anything, that no matter what may be the policy of the editors, the average newspaper in any community is in general a poor medium for communicating to the leaders of that community information about *conditions*. To educate a community's leadership, therefore, to the conditions that are producing juvenile delinquency requires the opening up of other and new channels of communication. The psychology of leaders is no different from the psychology of other readers. Their interests must be won through events, events that happen to individual cases. But that interest can then be shifted to the underlying conditions provided there is a medium not primarily interested in commercializing events alone. This does not mean that newspapers can be ignored. It means merely that one must supplement whatever information the newspapers will publish with other and more informative forms of communication. These will include conferences and lectures but above all some continuous-repetition medium such as regular bulletins. Specific conditions—not merely events—must be dramatized again and again. The newspaper is too busy with the world at large to do the job. One cannot hit bull's-eyes with a blunderbuss. Newspaper support is essential, but it is seldom enough.

QUIT BLAMING INDIVIDUALS

To grasp the causal importance of the breakdown of communication in the maladjustments of American communities is to move from the myth-minded level of praise and blame toward cause-and-effect understanding. Are the schools old-fashioned, the police out of date, the local churches adult-centered, the recreation system pre-war, the juvenile court understaffed? Why blame the superintendent, the chief, the clergymen, the park commissioner, the probate judge? These people are seldom at fault. Almost invariably the fault lies in the inadequacy of their sources of information. Problems which in small rural communities would have been self-evident before their eyes have now withdrawn behind a screen of distance and impersonality. The slums are not

before our eyes. They are in another part of town where we never go—*and nobody ever brings them to us.* Psychiatrist and mental hygienist write long reports on maladjustments of Johnny and Mary—but these are words in professional case records or speeches at conferences of other specialists. The cost of a poor probation system may be known to experts in New York and Washington, but the County Board of Supervisors never heard of it. That habits, not beliefs, control conduct is news to most clergymen.

Our cultural devices for keeping us intellectually and emotionally abreast of our environment have fallen farther and farther behind the complexities of that environment. From the township to the capitol at Washington this is the obvious fact that meets us everywhere. To go on blaming individuals is hardly intelligent. What seems to be needed is (1) the deliberate setting up of some sort of leadership information service for the decision-makers of our communities and (2) the development of a broad program of adult education. One type of leadership information service is exemplified by the *Delinquency News Letter* which is distributed by the Michigan Child Guidance Institute free to more than 10,000 judges, probation officers, school executives, organization officers, ministers, legislators, newspaper editors, and others in Michigan each month. A typical copy of this *News Letter* is reproduced in Appendix C, page 429f. As for adult education, further consideration of that is reserved for Chapter XVII, "The Functions of the School." Meanwhile, it is unlikely that for a long time to come even a leadership information service or such adult education as can now be foreseen will bring immediate solutions in an ordinary community. There still exist powerful resistances, resistances rooted in *habit,* in *comfortable illusions,* in *vested interests,* and in the *interrelatedness of culture traits.*[1]   --

RESISTANCES DUE TO HABIT, ILLUSIONS, SPECIAL INTERESTS

Few of us want to be made uneasy about our own town or our own children. We would much prefer to go on as we are, content

[1] These same resistances, operating on a national scale, prevented the French and British from readjusting in time to the menace of German rearmament under the Nazis. Leaders like Churchill saw the on-coming danger but could not overcome habit, comfortable illusions, vested interests, and the interrelatedness of culture traits to arouse their countrymen in time.

and ignorant. Dr. Park of the University of Chicago has suggested that in the acceptance of any new idea there is always involved a feeling of inferiority on the part of the individual accepting it. Unless we feel that a new idea has something for us, increases our power or adds to our social stature, why take it up at all? Why, therefore, give up our comfortable belief that all is well and that whatever misconduct occurs among the children in our town must be their own fault? Only as we can be made to see the inadequacy, the out-of-dateness, the dollars-and-cents costliness of our old ideas can we be brought to accept new ones.

But there is not only the dead drag of habit and the sedative effect of comfortable illusions. There are also all sorts of vested interests making for inaction.

Any proposal for improving a community's delinquency control will arouse resistance from any taxpayer, influential citizen, agency executive, or corrective or social worker who feels (1) left out or (2) threatened in any way. Hence the importance of so organizing action that no important person and no important interest will feel left out. And hence, also, the importance of so interpreting the proposed action that needless fears are minimized.

Frequently the threat is more imaginary than real. It consists more in the way the new idea is introduced and sponsored than in the nature of the idea itself. Thus if it is proposed, for example, to improve the level of agency cooperation by forming a coordinating council, the idea itself is harmless enough. But if others fear that one agency will set out to dominate the new council, or if one clique attempts to "freeze out" the probate judge or the chief of police or the superintendent of schools, or any other important person, an essentially harmless idea becomes loaded with dynamite. The inevitable result will be conflict, not cooperation.

Unfortunately, as Assistant Attorney General Justin Miller told a group at the Atlantic City meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, some folks are so "agency-minded" that their first question when confronted by a new idea is not "Will this solve the problem?" but "What will this idea do to me (or to my agency)?" The only way to deal with that type of person is to recognize his vested interest and frankly meet the issue.

Another difficulty inherent in the field of action is what may

be called the community's tempo of readjustment due to the inter-
relatedness of culture traits.

THE TEMPO OF READJUSTMENT

Every group facing a new problem or a new situation has its
own rate of readjustment. This is determined by many variables,
among them the nature and the newness of the problem; the size
and organization of the group; the adjustive flexibility of the indi-
vidual members; the dominant mind-set or attitude; the pressure
of other business; the unity of the group; local traditions; the
prestige and skill of leaders; and the impact of crisis or some
dramatic event. Emotional appeals can sometimes move a meeting
to immediate action. But to win the considered, intelligent sup-
port of a community's leaders they must be given time to define
the problem for themselves, to integrate it with their own experi-
ence, to satisfy themselves that a problem really exists and that
action is necessary. They are then ready to move on to questions
of what to do and how to do it. These are matters of detail which
can hardly be worked out democratically in large public meet-
ings. They call for the careful canvassing of possible objectives
and the detailed examination of ways and means—the work, in
short, of committees or leadership groups. Because of the problem
of tempo, when a large group is expected to take definite action,
especially at its first meeting, it is usually necessary to provide in
advance for carrying the decisions forward from one stage to an-
other. To do this is difficult without giving the impression of
having "rigged" the meeting. And that raises still another point.

DEMOCRACY—SHIBBOLETH OR GOAL?

Some sensitive champion of democracy will sometimes arise to
insist that it is more valuable to go through the motions of being
democratic than it is to accomplish anything. Yet the purpose of
democracy as a method is not merely to be democratic but to solve
problems in the interest of and with the cooperation of the indi-
viduals concerned. This means in the last analysis that every vital
interest must be represented in the final solution. In other words,
that no important conflict shall be repressed or short-circuited.
But whether a particular religious or racial group gets repre-
sented on a community council through a special election of its

own or by representatives selected by the council itself is much less important than the fact that the individual be chosen primarily for a specialized job that calls for ability not only to represent his group but to work creatively with similar representatives from other groups.

The growth of dictatorship abroad has apparently made many people suddenly supersensitive to the implications of the term democracy. This results not infrequently in complete obfuscation instead of effective action for democratic purposes. For example, some time after the Munich crisis a national committee of educators spent some hours wrangling over the question, "Does the program committee of an educational conference on democracy have any right under the democratic process to select the topics for discussion or even to prepare a program?" In other words, is there any place in the democratic process for organization and intellectual leadership? Such worship of symbols while the substance escapes is of course ridiculous.

But the problem confronts us in the field because there are many good people who insist on going through the motions of what they call democracy while the substance of democratic action escapes. Specifically, to expect any ordinary community democratically to elect the members of a coordinating council, for example, is to pursue the symbol and to miss the reality. A coordinating council meets to do what is essentially for the average citizen a *technical job*, a job that Mr. Average Citizen hasn't yet seen the need of doing at all. It meets to coordinate the activities of particular specialized agencies and particular groups of lay leaders. It meets to canvass the community's needs in special fields and to initiate action to meet those needs. Hence, members meet not to *represent* agencies and groups *in their separateness* but to *function for them in their areas of common interest.* This calls for personalities who can represent their own groups *and the community* at one and the same time. And this in turn calls for a broader basis of selection than any ordinary group election can usually produce.

Decry it as we may, the stubborn fact is that in the democratic cultures men tend to choose their representatives—any representatives—more on the basis of likeness to themselves than on the basis of competence for the job. Put in another way, men tend

to follow insight and personal understanding rather than mere expertness for special functions. The classic example was, of course, what happened to Graham Wallas, the distinguished political scientist, when he ran for Parliament years ago against a famous English football player. The football player—whose wife, incidentally, sang in a music hall—buried the "highbrow" political scientist under a majority that overtopped the towers of Westminster.

The moral seems to be that a man must demonstrate his likeness with his fellows before they will give him a chance to make them different. Every demagogue uses this as his stock in trade. But the moral for us is that *groups uninformed on problems of community organization can hardly be expected to elect their most expert community organizers.* They are much more likely to elect good *group* representatives, i.e., men so *like* themselves that they will represent the prevailing *lack* of inter-group cooperation rather than any felt need of better cooperation.

Ironically enough, therefore, in order to work most effectively toward organizing one's own community for essentially democratic purposes, namely, the better satisfaction of every individual's basic needs, what seems to be needed is not slavish adherence to some hypothetical formula of democracy but the intelligent mobilization of those community leaders who can most successfully function together to advance it.

THE PROBLEM OF PRECIPITATE ACTION

Sometimes in communities that have suddenly and perhaps dramatically been made aware of their delinquency problems resistances fall away and there develops pressure for immediate action.

Fellow luncheon-club members turn the heat on the probate judge, the chief of police, and the superintendent of schools. There will be impatience with any suggestion that further facts may be needed. "We've had too many surveys!" Especially is premature action likely to follow if on top of a local crisis some national figure comes in with a stirring appeal for action. It is frequently fatally easy under such conditions to organize a community or coordinating council, but it is also fatally easy to ignore the conditions essential to the permanence of such organizations.

Not only will no provision be made for paid leadership but the required moral backing may be completely absent. So-called community councils have actually been organized without the chief of police or the juvenile court judge being included in them at all. Sometimes these officials belong to the "wrong" political party, or they are regarded as less enlightened or less socially acceptable than are the reformers. As we have suggested above, such hair-trigger action almost invariably defeats its own purpose. Conflict develops. The excluded officials feel slighted and not infrequently are made the targets of personal or political attacks. Instead of focusing their united efforts *on the control of delinquency*, the leaders have only produced another *political squabble*. Political squabbles are not the most effective means for the control of delinquency.

"Stuffed Shirts" and Social Climbers

Another factor in the field of action is the "stuffed shirt." A "stuffed shirt" is a prominent citizen whose function in any movement is mainly to serve as "window dressing." He or she never actually does anything except to get publicity in the local paper as a sponsor or committee member.

The delinquency-control movement does not need "stuffed shirts." Anyone who cannot pull his weight in the boat had better be left ashore. Definitely and decisively committee memberships imply functions. Members who do not function are dead wood. The movement demands too much of the time and loyalty of those who do function to be exploited for publicity and social purposes. The best thing to do with "stuffed shirts" of both sexes is to leave them out.

When some social climber eschewing the stuffed shirt rôle seizes on delinquency control as an easy sesame to page 1, the situation is even more serious. Experience shows that such movements nearly always flop—there is a great fanfare of publicity at the beginning and promises of wonderful things for the under-privileged; the great Mrs. Van Whozit presides at a couple of meetings—carefully excluding certain low persons like social workers and probation officers; and then the whole thing goes with the wind. Unfortunately, however, the sour taste doesn't. Anybody who comes along in the next two or three years with a

sincere proposal to go after the delinquency problem must first.
live down Mrs. Van Whozit. Exploitation of the delinquency-
control motive for publicity or personal gain always makes it that
much harder for sincere leadership to accomplish anything. The
task is difficult enough without the extra burden of social climbers
and exhibitionists.

SUMMARY OF SECTION IV

We have seen that the problem of social action is the problem
of bringing about adaptive changes to improve the level of delin-
quency control, community by community, state by state. This
involves a definite art of social action based on a philosophy of
activism and functioning in a pattern featured by leadership and
active organization. Education, agitation, organization, and pres-
sure are the weapons of social action, but to get results they must
be trained on the community's decision-makers in a definite social
movement.

Leadership inevitably involves the direction of attention to the
problem; definition of the difficulty; suggestion of solutions; the
enlistment of cooperation by emotional conditioning and by mu-
tual understanding and democratic collaboration; allocation of
function; the building of esprit de corps and morale; the release
of action; and the appraisal of results. Centers of leadership in an
ordinary community include prominent citizens, editors, clergy-
men, civic organizations, newspapers, radio stations, and the local
library. The all-important essential is the determination of leaders
to see the problem through. How it actually works was illustrated
in Monroe.

But always social action must come to terms with the field in
which it operates. High points in this field are the mores, the
legal framework, the service pattern, local influence-groups, cen-
ters of influence, controllers of public attention, and political
leaders. Communities differ in their readiness to react to their own
problems, and first objectives will differ in different communities.
A fundamental difficulty is the cumulative breakdown in com-
munication and the cultural lag in education. It is a waste of
time in these circumstances to blame individual officials. It would
be more fruitful to improve their sources of information. Yet
habit, comfortable illusions, and vested interests always offer re-

sistance. The tempo of readjustment is another factor that must be kept in mind. The shibboleths of democracy itself may be an obstacle. Yet at times too rapid action is the thing to be feared. Always "stuffed shirts" and social climbers are a nuisance and sometimes a positive menace.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What are the seven areas of the community field in which social action occurs?
2. What aspects of the mores are especially important and why?
3. Explain the importance of "social accounting." Why isn't there any such thing?
4. What do you understand by the legal framework and the service pattern?
5. What are the centers of influence in your community?
6. Why do communities differ in their readiness to act?
7. Why is a coordinating council especially important?
8. What is meant by the breakdown in communication?
9. Why do newspapers tend to stress events rather than conditions? Check this in any daily paper.
10. Why should we quit "blaming" individual officials?
11. What are some of the local resistances to action?
12. What do you understand by the tempo of readjustment and why is it important?
13. How is democracy related to this problem of social action?
14. When is precipitate action to be feared and why?
15. Do you know any "stuffed shirts"?
16. What is the menace of the social climber?

PART V

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Chapter XV

Coordination and Prevention

THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

We have now described the volume and distribution of juvenile delinquency and considered its causes. We have called attention to the most important techniques that are being used for discovering, diagnosing, and treating delinquents and problem children, and for preventing or removing childhood maladjustments and environmental deviation pressures. We have stressed the gap which exists in practically every community between actual practice and best practice in all these fields, and we have suggested some of the ways by which leadership can organize and direct social action to close that gap.

All of which brings us to the problem of how to give *permanence* to the results of social action. That essentially is the problem of *social organization.*

In Part III we discussed organization as a tool of social action, a tool which could be used to change attitudes, customs, laws, and *other organizations* such as schools, courts, police forces.

Here we are concerned with these other organizations. Let us distinguish at once, therefore, between social organization as a *tool of social action,* and social organization as an *instrument of permanent function.* The term social organization itself, of course, may be defined as referring to a pattern of ordered social functioning or to a group of people carrying on such a pattern. In either case the essence of the matter is that the separate activities are so related and controlled as to tend toward the accomplishment of an end, or purpose. The people of every culture have certain broadly similar purposes to effectuate which various types of organization have developed. People everywhere face the necessity of making a living; of making a home; of rearing children; of protecting themselves against various types of enemies; of defining group policies and enforcing codes of conduct; of

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informing themselves about events in the world around them; of caring for what the Lynds called the "unable"; and of adjusting themselves to the great mystery of the universe, the "too-bigness of life." It is this panorama of the ordered adjustment of means to ends for the solution of these great problems that we call social organization in general. Within this broad panorama, particular groups carry on particular sets of orderly activities which have evolved to meet more or less special needs. Two aspects of the problem, therefore, demand attention. One has to do with the broader interrelationships of individual organizations to one another. The other has to do with the particular problems of each individual organization. In this chapter we shall consider the broader problem first, namely, the interrelationships of different organizations for the more effective control of juvenile delinquency. In the remaining chapters of the book we shall take up the problems of certain of the individual organizations, namely, government, the public schools, the church, and finally the unique organization set up in Michigan to furnish leadership and educational stimulation for improving delinquency control in that state.

THE NEED OF COORDINATION OF AGENCIES AND LAY LEADERSHIP

In any ordinary community the application of the scientific technology to the control of juvenile behavior suffers from three outstanding defects:

1. The lack of an adequate complement of agencies.

2. The failure of existing agencies to utilize best practice.

3. The failure of such agencies as do exist to cooperate closely, either with one another or with the people who pay the bills. We have considered that the provision of an adequate complement of agencies and the introduction of best practice are fundamentally problems of social action. Those problems we have discussed in preceding pages. The problem of coordinating agencies and laymen, although important as an objective of social action, involves so many phases of social organization that we may justly consider it under that head.

WHAT IS COORDINATION?

Coordination, like cooperation, is one of those words that comes trippingly to the tongue but proves much harder to

define. In general, one coordinates when he brings the specific activities of *separate systems* into mutually advantageous relationships. One coordinates his movements, for example, when all of them contribute toward a given end. One organizes an agency but coordinates its activities with those of other agencies.

In American culture there has been a tendency for specialized activities to integrate vertically. School people form town and county and then state and finally national associations. Social workers, physicians, and other professional people organize in the same way. This has undoubtedly redounded to the increased efficiency of each specialized profession, but it has not made for coordinated action on the community front.

In community action there are at least four levels on which coordination seems desirable.

1. It is essential that the key people, the men who control and dominate given agencies, shall understand the purpose of, and give their moral and financial support to, delinquency control.

2. There must be coordination of individual attitudes and of agency policies to implement the general purpose.

3. There must be coordination of personnel and structure to carry out the policies.

4. The actual activities of agency representatives must gear into one another at the proper times, places, rates, etc., necessary to accomplish the common purpose with a minimum of friction and lost motion. To bring about the necessary degree of co-ordination on each of these four levels and on all of them at the same time is an interesting problem in social engineering for whose solution three kinds of social machinery have been invented: (a) the *community chest, or fund;* (b) the *confidential exchange;* and (c) various forms of *council and conference.*

The community chest is the agency for coordinating moral and financial support for accepted social work purposes. The coordination of attitudes and policies is achieved through councils of social agencies. Coordination of personnel and structure is seldom achieved between agencies at all. Within an agency it is a function of agency officers.

To coordinate action of different agencies, especially with reference to cases and specific problems, administrative machinery is necessary. The confidential exchange is one example

of this kind of machinery for the exchange of information. A confidential exchange is simply a central registry of all the cases handled by all the agencies using it. It makes possible the prevention of duplication and simplifies the task of completing the social background of each case by putting at the disposal of the active agency the work of all the other agencies previously in touch with the case. Yet outside of the larger cities *most of the counties and cities in the United States do not have such exchanges.*

As the job of controlling social breakdowns becomes better understood, it becomes increasingly apparent that the mere exchange of information is not enough. There is also need of administrative machinery *for coordinating action.* To meet this need a new form of council developed after 1919, mainly on the Pacific coast. This is the so-called coordinating council. The coordinating council began primarily to deal with the problem of delinquency-control activities. When it merely coordinates *attitudes and policies,* it functions on the level of a council of social agencies and differs from such a council mainly by stressing attention to delinquency control rather than agency policies. When it goes on to coordinate specific action it becomes a distinctive form of organization.

THE COORDINATING COUNCIL

From the beginning two characteristics have distinguished all coordinating councils from any and all forms of social agency councils, and a third characteristic distinguishes many of them even more definitely. All true coordinating councils are marked by (1) concern with the coordination of specific activities, not merely with the coordination of attitudes and policies, and (2) a dominating interest in delinquency control. In addition, (3) many councils include lay members and express the layman's determination to do something about community problems that established agencies have not met.

How did the coordinating council begin? What does the coordinating council movement amount to? And what has it accomplished? Kenneth Beam, executive secretary, Coordinating Councils, Inc., tells the story:[1]

[1] Kenneth S. Beam, *Coordinating Councils in California,* California Department of Education, Bulletin No. 11. September 1, 1938, pp. 7-10.

In the fall of 1919 Dr. Virgil E. Dickson, then director of the Bureau of Research and Guidance of the Berkeley Public Schools, and August Vollmer, chief of police of Berkeley, decided to have lunch together in order to discuss certain cases with which they were both concerned. At this first conference they decided that there were two other people who should be invited to join them the following week: Dr. Jan D. Ball, a psychiatrist conducting a clinic for behavior problems, and Dr. J. V. Breitweiser, professor of educational psychology at the University of California. This group of four formed the habit of having lunch together each Tuesday.

Soon they discovered that the Health Department of the city had nurses who were often working with these same families and children. So they invited Dr. Sheppard, who was then chief of the Health Department of the city, to take lunch with them regularly on Tuesdays. After some time the group realized that the Welfare Division, which had charge of all charity and relief work and home-finding for destitute children, was also closely concerned with many of the problems with which they were dealing, and so invited Mrs. Neal, the head of the welfare work, to join them.

They prepared a master list showing the names of all children included in the records of each department. They could then check in each case to note what other agencies were contacting the same child or the same home. It was not surprising to find that in several cases each agency had its own separate records on each child. In a large proportion of the cases two or more agencies were concerned.

After some years of this voluntary committee discussion, it was suggested by Chief Vollmer that they organize, select a name, and keep minutes so that they could have a record of discussions and proposals.[2] The name finally selected was "The Berkeley Coordinating Council."[3] Dr. Dickson, who later became Superintendent of Schools, was selected the first chairman of the organization and has continued in that office

[2] A fine example of the importance of records as the basis of social memory. Without records most of their experiences would have been lost with the individual members.

[3] Apparently a coordinating council was also organized in the stockyards district of Chicago about this same time. Fourteen years later the coordinating council was independently invented in the form of President Ruthven's Treatment Planning Committee to follow up treatment of 17 Ann Arbor boys from the Fresh Air Camp at Patterson Lake, Michigan. News of the California idea reached Ann Arbor in 1933 when Rev. E. W. Blakeman, formerly of Berkeley, joined the group.

to the present time. It was agreed in those early meetings that when it was possible to do so each agency or organization should be ready to serve an emergency call of the other. Each agency was to keep its own records, but would freely give those records or information from them, when it seemed desirable, to any other of the official agencies.

The purpose of the Council was the cooperation of the official agencies of the community for welfare work. They wished to prevent overlapping and duplication of effort. They wished to increase the efficiency of all departments through coordination, thus making the community a better place in which to live. They wished to investigate the causes for symptoms of trouble in youth at the earliest possible period in life, feeling that the direction of child life in constructive channels of thought and action is more powerful in preventing delinquency than the effort to cure the individual who has become delinquent.

THE COORDINATING COUNCIL BEGINS TO SPREAD

Ten years later, in 1929, the Berkeley Coordinating Council was "discovered" by the California Commission for the Study of Problem Children, a commission appointed by the Governor. . . .

The publication of the Commission's report apparently had much to do with the rapid spread of the coordinating council plan in succeeding years. In 1930 a coordinating council was organized in San Francisco. In 1932 the first council was organized in Los Angeles County. By 1933 there were some fifty coordinating councils functioning in the state. . . .

In May, 1935, the first state conference of coordinating councils was held in San Francisco in connection with the State Conference of Social Work. At that time there were ninety councils organized. This number had increased to 110 in 1936, to 117 in 1937, and to 126 in 1938. . . .

An organization known as California Coordinating Councils was formed at the first conference. This group has met annually since 1935.

For a number of years the California State Department of Education backed the movement. Then in 1938 the Rosenberg Foundation of San Francisco provided a grant to extend the work throughout the state, and the organization reorganized as Coordinating Councils, Incorporated, with Mr. Beam as executive secretary.

In December, 1934, in Washington at the Attorney-General's Conference on Crime, Kenyon J. Scudder, chief probation officer, Los Angeles Juvenile Court, proposed the appointment of

a voluntary committee to be known as the National Advisory Committee on Coordinating Councils. Sanford Bates, then director of federal prisons in the Department of Justice, later head of the Boys' Clubs of America, Inc., was selected as chairman. This committee tried unsuccessfully for a number of years to obtain financial backing for setting up national headquarters in New York City.

Meanwhile, pushed by Mr. Scudder and backed by the Los Angeles Rotary Club, the coordinating council idea spread rapidly along the coast and eastward. Beam, after a nation-wide survey for the National Probation Association, reported in 1938 that records were available on between 350 and 380 councils in the United States. California headed the list with 126, Washington had 43, Illinois 31, New York 29, Massachusetts 23, New Jersey 20. Twenty-eight executives were, in 1938, reported in neighborhood councils. Eleven were employed by public departments, 9 by councils of social agencies, 3 by private agencies, 2 by philanthropy foundations, 1 by a state conference of social work, 1 by a civic organization, and 1 by a W.P.A. project.

700 COUNCILS IN 1940

A national survey by the American Legion in 1939 found 598 coordinating, or community, councils in 23 states and the District of Columbia without counting New York and Pennsylvania which had many neighborhood councils of their own.[4] It is probable that there were more than 700 coordinating councils in the United States in 1940.[5] Areas reporting to the American Legion are shown in the table on page 332.

CHARACTERISTICS OF COORDINATING COUNCILS

Obviously an idea which works quietly in one community for ten years, then spreads to 700 in the next ten, must have something to give it such persistence and appeal. What does it have?

In his study covering ninety-two cities in thirty states, Beam

[4] *Community Coordination,* November-December, 1939.
[5] A survey by the Delinquency Prevention Council of Michigan in 1940 based on questionnaire returns from newspaper editors of the state revealed more than 50 coordinating or community councils known to the newspapers. It is probable that in all states there are scores of local councils unlisted in any general survey.

DELINQUENCY CONTROL

SURVEY OF COORDINATING COUNCILS

Areas	Councils
Arizona.................................	4
Arkansas................................	5
California..............................	162
Colorado...............................	10
Delaware...............................	1
District of Columbia......................	2
Florida.................../.............	6
Georgia................................	4
Illinois.................................	7
Kansas.................................	5
Louisiana..............................	2
Maine.................................	3
Iowa..................................	23
Massachusetts..........................	4
Michigan..............................	30[5]
Nebraska	7
New Jersey.............................	175
Ohio..................................	46
·Oregon................................	8
South Dakota	6
Texas	35
Washington............................	44
Wyoming..............................	5
West Virginia..........................	4
Totals....................	598

found the following characteristics distinctive of coordinating councils:[6]

1. They are organized on a community basis in towns and small cities, and on a neighborhood basis in large cities.

2. They bring together city and county officials, representatives of private agencies, and civic organizations interested in welfare of children, youth, the family, and the community.

3. They emphasize the importance of citizen or lay participation.

4. They do not act as agencies but as counseling or coordinating bodies.

5. They are interested in the prevention of delinquency. Some make this their major objective while others consider it secondary.

[6] Kenneth S. Beam, "Community Coordination," Report of a National Survey of Coordinating and Neighborhood Councils, see *Coping with Crime,* *Yearbook of the National Probation Association*, 1937, pp. 48-49.

WHAT DO THEY DO?

What do such councils do? The fountainhead of coordinating council activity is Los Angeles County where the probation department under Scudder assigned two full-time officers to work with the 74 councils that reported activities in the year ending in June, 1938. *These councils listed 593 activities* under 12 headings for that year as follows:[7]

1. *Surveys.*—Councils report sixty-three surveys covering housing, community conditions, recreational facilities and needs, leisure time interests of youth, causes contributing to delinquency, salacious literature, physical properties, and needed facilities.

2. *Improving Recreation Facilities.*—Practically all councils reported more activity in this field than in any other. They report the lighting of playgrounds; securing of new playgrounds, new facilities, equipment, club houses, community centers; extending present programs, securing directors, etc., etc.

3. *Providing Special Activities for Children.*—Sixty-six councils reported sponsoring special activities and events for children who ordinarily have few opportunities for such participation. These events included Christmas parties, fiesta programs and carnivals, Hallowe'en parties, soapbox derbies, miniature boat regattas, etc.

4. *Extending Organizations for Boys and Girls.*—Sixty-six councils reported the extension of boys' and girls' organizations through a variety of activities: leadership training and promotion; securing leaders for individual groups, etc.

5. *Serving Individual Cases.*—One of the major interests of Los Angeles County Coordinating Councils has been the study of individual cases and the making of constructive plans for maladjusted children through the Adjustment Committee. The councils reported 1273 cases of individual children who have received some assistance through these committees in the year ending in June, 1938.   •

6. *Summer Camps.*—Sixty-one councils reported participation in summer camp programs. It is estimated that the councils

[7] Kenneth S. Beam, *Coordinating Councils in California,* Department of Education, Bulletin No. 11, September 1, 1938, pp. 23-25.

raised approximately $5800 to provide camping experience for 1700 children.

7. *Health and Safety Programs.*—Sixteen councils improved the health service in their communities or promoted safety programs.

8. *Meeting Needs of Young People.*—Fifty-six councils have endeavored to meet the needs of young people in a variety of ways. Twenty-six councils have sponsored or secured sponsorship for supervised dances. Nine have assisted in securing employment for young people. Others have assisted in organizing dramatic classes, music clubs, athletic clubs, and gardening clubs. Eleven councils have arranged for participation by youth in the coordinating council meetings, and one junior council has been organized.

9. *Raising Standards of Home Life.*—Through a number of different methods councils have sought to assist parents in improving the standards of their home life and in providing better supervision of their children. Fifteen councils have arranged community night programs in school auditoriums, in which talks to parents have been combined with entertainment. Other councils have sponsored conferences on family relations, nursery schools, sex instruction courses, etc.

10. *Improving Community Conditions.*—Seventy councils have reported efforts to improve community conditions through the removal or control of undesirable influences, or through strengthening the constructive forces of the community. The largest number (seventeen) to engage in one type of project included those supporting low-cost housing projects. Thirteen councils worked to eliminate salacious literature from the news stands. Others protested and endeavored to prevent the sale of liquor in dance halls, violations of liquor laws, undesirable motion pictures, gambling machines, undesirable conditions in dance halls and skating rinks, and false advertising. Councils have promoted community singing, drama clubs, neighborhood assemblies, public forums, community betterment clubs and adult education courses.

Councils have organized community chests and have aided in chest campaigns. They have assisted in a variety of local welfare programs, including the raising of money for milk funds, clear-

ing Christmas baskets, and promoting educational programs for syphilis control. One council has advocated physical examination for marriage license applicants.

11. *Information Service.*—Forty-five councils have reported special efforts to keep their members and the community at large informed regarding community needs and conditions and regarding the work of the councils. Fourteen councils publish bulletins, some each month and others less frequently. Five councils maintain a community calendar of coming events. Twenty-five councils hold annual dinners and special meetings with the definite purpose of reaching as large a number of people as possible. Five councils have persuaded newspapers to desist from publishing the names of minors involved with the law.

COORDINATING COUNCIL FINANCES

Reports were received from fifty-seven councils regarding their financial needs and sources of income. The average budget was $41.97. This money was secured in the following ways: donations from service organizations (22), memberships (18), donations from community chests (5), profits from luncheons and dinners (5), profits from entertainments (4), and contributions from officers (3).

All over the country the record of the councils runs in similar terms: community centers established, police service improved, community chests organized, confidential exchanges set up, health clinics established, psychiatric service made available, recreational facilities provided or enlarged, children sent to camp; problem cases treated. In Los Angeles County the board of supervisors was induced to provide $8500 for toy loan library. In Madison, New Jersey, a council provided consultation service for out-of-school, out-of-work youths.

RESISTANCES IN THE STATUS QUO

In the face of this impressive list of achievements, it is impossible to deny that the coordinating council movement has a great deal to its credit. In the communities in which coordinating councils have appeared there seems to have been a definite feeling that old-fashioned methods of controlling juvenile delin-
. quency were ineffective.

Many court officers and social workers have accordingly become defensive. They have either openly opposed coordinating councils or, while pretending to approve them, have actually sabotaged them. How to get the benefit of the expert's experience without getting the chill from his skepticism and defensiveness is the problem before every coordinating council dominated by lay leaders.

On the whole, correctional workers have welcomed the coordinating council movement more warmly than most workers in other fields of social work.

WEAKNESSES IN THE MOVEMENT

On behalf of all workers in established agencies, it must be said that there were many and serious weaknesses in the coordinating council idea itself. As a technique for coordinating the activities of official agencies, the idea made a contribution, but it was still spreading very slowly even three years after the California state commission's discovery of it in 1929. It was Kenyon Scudder's inclusion of lay enthusiasm in the first Los Angeles council in 1932 that started the coordinating council on its way. The laymen put the move in the movement but they also put the trained social worker's eyebrows up. Would the laymen stay with it, and would they be able to accomplish enough of positive value to offset the blunders that amateurs in a technical field must always make? It was partly to answer those questions that the National Probation Association sent Beam out on his survey.

HOW DOES IT START?

Before facing the question of the success or failure of coordinating councils in carrying on the numerous activities which they report, let us consider how a coordinating council comes into existence, and how it operates. In general, a local council starts in one of three different ways:

1. As the result of some local event, condition, or need. The community leaders are impelled to do something about it. In seeking for a solution to the local problem they decide to call all constructive forces together and face the situation with a united front.

2. Local leaders become aware of a condition to be met, and acquire information as to how a similar condition has been met in another community through a cooperative attack.

3. Emotional effort originates in some city, county, or state office.

THE RÔLE OF THE CHAIRMAN

After it has been called together, what does a council do? That depends partly on the chairman and partly, of course, on the members. Beam distinguishes three types of chairmen—those who do too little; those who do too much; and those who do enough to build up a strong organization. Those who do too little make few plans and are inclined to drift. They depend on outside speakers. Little is accomplished and council members become discouraged and withdraw. Those who do too much are over-aggressive. They try to do it all. They make plans and try to carry them out. The council has the appearance from the outside of being highly active but it is a one-man show. When the chairman drops out, the council is through. Those who build up strong organizations make careful plans but work through the executive committee and other committees in the council itself so that council members feel they have a part in decisions and planning. As a result they and their organizations are whole-heartedly back of the council program. Councils under this type of leadership move more slowly but are more effective in the long run. As Beam puts it:

The most capable chairmen face this dilemma: I. Shall their first objective be to get results, action, and decisions made, and some definite things accomplished without loss of time; or, II. should their first attempt be to develop a strong organization, in which real cooperation and coordination takes place, to create a council that will be a permanent asset to the community, because it gives the official social workers and the citizens experience in working together, and creates a feeling of unity, harmony, and solidarity, giving them a sense of their power when they act as a unit? This intangible spirit, feeling, loyalty, is the greatest heritage a retiring chairman can leave. The wise chairman realizes that these two objectives are not mutually exclusive and that they can be obtained simultaneously.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

Out of wide experience, Beam makes the following suggestions relative to council meetings.

"The monthly meeting of the coordinating councils should make the following impression on all participants, and through them on the departments, organizations, agencies, and institutions they represent."[8]

That the council leaders are thoughtful, painstaking, and scientific in making plans.

That their judgment is sound.

That the opinions of all council members are welcomed.

That the chairman is sincere in welcoming criticism of his own proposals.

That adequate time is always given for full discussion of proposals before they are voted on.

That after a plan is in operation the council will be given full reports regarding its success or failure.

That no important information is concealed, whether it indicates success or failure in connection with plans adopted.

That new ideas, suggestions, and plans are heartily encouraged and that time is allowed for such suggestions at each meeting.

That every member of the council is given some responsibility and is made to feel that he and his organization are indispensable.

That credit and appreciation are always given to the person or organization that plays any important part in the council program.

That the council officers do not make the mistake of giving the council credit for something that was really done by an agency or organization.

That the council members are continually reminded of the fact that they constitute a coordinating and counseling body and not an agency, and that the entire success of the council depends on the degree of cooperation the member agencies give, and the ability of the organizations and agencies to assist in meeting needs revealed by the council.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 38.

How to Run a Meeting

Following are a few suggestions to chairmen for conducting council meetings in a manner conducive to obtaining the results desired:

Appointing every member of the council on some committee.

Conducting the meetings in such democratic fashion that no one could possibly feel that his own ideas or suggestions were not important or desired.

Insisting that the secretary keep a record of all constructive suggestions made, even though time might not be available for full discussion at the time they are made.

Having the actions of the executive committee fully presented to the council, with ample time provided for discussion and action if necessary.

Presenting new problems, plans, needs or important information.

Endeavoring to arrive at some solution of the problem or some plan of action, after the situation has been fully discussed.

After placing responsibility for carrying out the plan agreed on, or for securing further information on some organization, committee, or individual.

Always calling on the organization, committee, or individual for a report at the next meeting of the council.

Always Do Something

How to "educate" members of the coordinating councils to what the community needs is another matter on which California's experience sheds much light but which we do not have space to discuss here. The most important thing of all, perhaps, for coordinating council officers to remember is that *"some action should be taken or some decision made in connection with every problem introduced in council meetings.* Nothing will cause a council member to lose interest so quickly as to see the council chairman turn to a new item on the agenda before any action is taken regarding the subject previously discussed."[9] What can be done to dispose of such matters? Beam makes seven suggestions: (1) The council may be able to agree on a plan of action

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 37.

and reach a decision at the coordinating council meeting. (2)
The chairman may assign the problem to one of the organiza-
tions represented on the council. (3) The chairman may assign
the problem to a standing committee and request this committee
either to carry out a plan or to report on a plan of action. (4)
The chairman may appoint a special committee. (5) The chair-
man may appoint one or more members to secure additional
information and report at the next meeting. (6) The council may
decide to refer the problem to the executive committee. (7) The
council may refer the problem to the county executive board
(in counties so organized).

SOME CONCLUSIONS FROM EXPERIENCE

Beam finds that there are two distinct types of coordinating
councils in California, and the same is true elsewhere. (1) In one
type, the membership consists exclusively of public officials and
professional workers from social agencies. (2) The other type
includes laymen, representatives of churches, civic associations,
etc. No one council pattern will fit all communities and no one
plan of action will apply equally to all communities. California
groups emphasize the necessity of studying carefully each given
need, condition, or problem before a program of action is
mapped out. In cities of more than 25,000 they advise coordinat-
ing councils to conduct studies on a neighborhood basis and
plan neighborhood committees or councils to be responsible for
the improvement of conditions in their own localities. They find
that many councils in California, having started with a primary
interest in the prevention of juvenile delinquency, gradually
come to see that the welfare of all children and youth in the
community is involved. Hence, councils tend to consider the
needs of the community as a whole. There is a definite tendency
for councils to cover a wider range of interests as they gain experi-
ence and influence. There is a tendency also for laymen to become
more influential in these councils.

It should be emphasized again that coordinating councils
serve primarily as coordinating bodies and not as separate agen-
cies. They achieve results through other agencies. Yet occasionally,
they do act for particular purposes as agencies in themselves.

The California group especially emphasizes the fact that hard

work is required to secure results. It is easy to whip up enthusiasm for coordination and cooperation, but it is hard to change community conditions.

"No council will accomplish satisfactory results unless a number of the members give a great deal of time and effort to it. Conditions will not be changed, needs met, or services improved simply by the passing of resolutions or appointing committees. Satisfactory results will come only after hard work and dogged persistence over a long period of time."[10] Because there is no national office and no long tradition of operation in this field, the responsibility resting on leaders of coordinating councils is that much greater. There is greater need for resourcefulness and tact. The California groups point out that sponsorship by well-established organizations is highly desirable. When sponsorship is provided by a city or county organization it is essential that this organization create an advisory board on which other city and county organizations are represented, and on which local councils will have representation.

Sponsorship of a number of coordinating councils calls for employment of a paid director. Volunteers can no longer function adequately. As a matter of fact, one of the trends in the field is the gradual increase in the number of paid directors serving coordinating councils. Where there is no paid director it is usually better, according to California experience, for a coordinating council to start with a small group and to enlarge its membership as its experience increases and as the need of a larger membership becomes more apparent. Mistakes have been made where communities have begun coordinating activities with a large group entirely under volunteer leadership. Those in charge did not have enough time to give to the council to keep it functioning effectively and retain interest.

Before any civic organization takes steps to organize a coordinating council, California experience indicates that it is highly desirable for the leaders to consult with county and city departments and with social workers representing private agencies. There may even be coordinating councils already functioning under some other name, and duplication would be highly undesirable.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Of course everyone should realize by this time that public officials are ready to participate in the council program, that they welcome the opportunity to cooperate with private agencies and civic organizations. Coordinating councils work with and not against public officials. Frequently the very objectives that a council seeks to attain are the things that public officials have been seeking without adequate support for a long time. The mobilization of opinion which can be accomplished by a council is the very thing needed to put it over.

WHAT CONDITIONS SUCCESS AND FAILURE?

The factors making for success and failure of a coordinating council are not all definitely known. But California experience has clearly indicated certain practical weaknesses to be avoided. Community readiness for a council is one important factor. The unwanted council is bound to fail. Likewise, there is the question of the tempo of community readjustment. There must be adequate preparation. The premature council starts under a handicap. The council that is inadequately sponsored is another poor risk. Parental neglect sometimes proves fatal. The organizing genius becomes too busy in some other field and the council dies in its early youth. When leaders quarrel, councils seldom grow up. Likewise, councils have a difficult time of it when their dominating personality imagines he is Hitler. Beam found that most unsuccessful councils died in their first year. He cites one city for example where forty or more councils were organized within a few months, the promoter apparently seeming to feel that he had no responsibility after the organization meetings. All of them folded up. In another city a public official, working along without any sponsorship, organized ten councils. When he left town they went out of existence. In another city a juvenile court judge took the initiative without the backing of any group, called a meeting of forty or fifty representatives, and organized a council. A conflict broke out that might have affected him politically. He dropped the matter pronto.

In some cases special councils were organized in areas where there had been failures. The new sponsors did not attempt to revive the old organizations, but ignored them completely and began as they would have begun in a new community.

THE COORDINATING COUNCIL IS NO CURE-ALL

Some enthusiasts, but not those most intimately acquainted with the movement, have tended to regard the coordinating council as a cure-all. Obviously it is nothing of the sort. It is merely a method of increasing cooperation and, incidentally, of stimulating community action. A council cannot by itself overcome inadequate or inefficient local agencies. It cannot modernize out-of-date techniques. It cannot by itself make up for low-grade personnel in agencies. It cannot overnight change short-sighted community attitudes. But by bringing local leaders together at intervals to face their problems together, the coordinating council unquestionably does tend to educate a community's leadership to demand more adequate facilities, to press for the modernization of out-of-date techniques, to urge the employment of higher-grade personnel, and to modernize short-sighted attitudes. But a coordinating council cannot accomplish miracles.

Successes.—When such councils have been (1) properly organized; (2) persistently pushed by competent leaders; (3) enthusiastically supported by public officials; and (4) where no community conditions have existed to create dissension, they have more than justified their existence.

Failures.—Wherever they have been organized (1) before local leaders were ready; (2) where leadership has rested in the hands of amateur volunteers who could not command community confidence; (3) where the population base on which they were organized proved unwieldy; (4) wherever basic community conflicts have not been overcome, the councils have failed.

Coordinating councils constitute only one link in a chain of prevention which, as we have already suggested, must include, (1) *research*, (2) *improved techniques*, (3) *an adequate complement of agencies*, (4) *high-grade personnel*, (5) *educated public opinion*, as well as (6) *more efficient cooperation* and ultimately (7) *enlightened legislation.*

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is the essential task of social organization?
2. What two types of social organization are distinguished?

3. What are the outstanding defects in the application of the scientific technology in an ordinary community?

4. Define coordination.

5. What levels of coordination must be distinguished?

6. What types of social organization exist for coordination on each level?

7. What is a coordinating council? How does it differ from a council of social agencies?

8. Trace the origins and spread of the coordinating council.

9. How many such councils were there in the United States in 1939?

10. Name five types of coordinating council activities.

11. What resistances have councils met in the status quo?

12. Why have professional social and correctional workers been skeptical of the movement?

13. In what three ways do coordinating councils start?

14. What practical suggestions does Beam offer to council leaders?

15. What are some of the important things to remember about running a council meeting?

16. What two types of council does Beam distinguish?

17. What are the conditions that determine success or failure of a coordinating council?

18. What are the other links in the chain of prevention?

The Rôle of Government in the Control of Deviant Behavior

GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT SERVICES

For centuries the rôle of government with reference to deviant behavior was mainly repressive and punitive. Until well into the nineteenth century even the care of the insane was merely a particularly brutal kind of imprisonment. Gradually, because of humanitarianism at first and later because of growing insight into cause and effect, governmental agencies began to modify their repressive measures and to make increasing use of scientific technology. Curiously enough, as we have already said, this movement from the control of behavior through punishment to the control of behavior through the control of causation has been a retrograde movement, appearing first in the last stage of the deviant career, the institution, and working backward along the various stages of the road.

In this whole movement government has seldom taken the initiative but it has been called upon to play a wider and more complicated rôle from generation to generation. The movement has gone on in the midst of an evolution of American culture which, as we have indicated, has transformed the open country and the village culture of a century ago into a complicated, interdependent, organized culture of the automobile, the airplane, the radio, mass production, and mass marketing. During the course of this evolution there has been a tremendous dislocation of the living patterns of millions of people. The old securities of a simple, family-bound, subsistence agriculture have been replaced by the mammoth insecurities of an impersonal, urbanized, pecuniary economy. One can almost trace the gradual decay of family and neighborhood safeguards in the history of such institutions as state child-caring agencies, state correctional homes, compulsory school attendance laws, state welfare depart-

ments, state crime commissions, and ultimately the growth of federal agencies.

Obviously most of the safeguards of individual and family life which have gradually been established by constitutions and laws are fundamental factors in any campaigns for better citizenship. These include laws governing the care of dependent and neglected children, mothers' pension acts, compulsory school attendance laws, juvenile court laws, the various statutory and administrative provisions for the licensing and supervising of child-caring agencies, laws for the supervision of probation, for the coordinated control of state institutions, and laws authorizing activities of the department of public instruction and other state agencies. As was to be expected, not all states have moved at the same rate and in the same direction. Not all have widened the functions of their state and local governments to the same degree. But all show traces of the same general trends, and there is more than enough evidence that the institutional equipment of the twentieth century is everywhere vastly more complicated than the institutional equipment of pioneer days. This appears most obviously in the cost of government now, as compared with the cost of government a generation or more ago. This is an entirely misleading comparison.

SERVICES EXPAND TO MEET NEEDS

The United States Army judges the adequacy of its guns and transport not by comparing them with the equipment of George Washington's army but by comparing them with the guns and transport of possible enemies today. It would be utterly ridiculous to contend that the United States Army does not need tanks and airplanes today because, forsooth, they are expensive and George Washington did not have them! Yet that is the argument which one frequently hears in the field of the public services. The protections and constructive services that a government *must* render today are far more numerous and more expensive than they were in pioneer days. They are more numerous and more expensive precisely because the forces of social disorganization, like modern armies, are more numerous and more formidable.

Unfortunately there does not seem to be any rule of thumb by which to determine beforehand the "natural" scope of gov-

ernmental activity. The general principle seems to be that, other agencies failing, the American people will use governmental agencies to solve any problem which they feel must be solved. Thus, despite pioneer theories of individual initiative and rugged individualism, the resources of government were freely spent for internal improvements—canals, railroads, highways. In the same way, gradually passing from the family and the church, education has become in large measure a governmental function. More and more, government has had to concern itself with the provision of facilities for the profitable use of leisure time. More and more, it has had to concern itself with the care of the unable, until with the coming of Emergency Relief and the Social Security Act the national government itself has assumed final responsibility for the victims of economic fluctuations and for many of the permanent problems of dependency.

The Problem of Proportion

It thus becomes apparent that the rôle of government in relation to the control of deviant behavior is very broad indeed. In so far as individuals must be protected against the vicissitudes of life and against the risks that they cannot themselves foresee or cannot adequately meet, government will be called upon to intervene, if and when private charity and local organizations fail. In so far as purpose and intelligence can direct human affairs toward the creation of a social order in which every individual shall have an opportunity to reach the fullest development of his native powers, we must expect that government will be called upon to provide the facilities and supply the sanctions which less inclusive cooperative organizations cannot supply.

It is true that in the American culture the ultimate objective has theoretically, at least, always been the welfare of the individual citizen. And it is likewise true that this theoretical limitation requires a continuous reappraisal of the functions of the individual, the freely associating group, the private corporation, and the total power of the community organized as government. No one of these can be allowed to go too far without grave danger to the most effective functioning of all the others. This is a matter of the utmost importance in the light of modern warfare and its demands for "total defense," "total preparedness," etc. But entire

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political philosophies have been devoted to these questions. Although it is obvious that every institution has its rôle to play in the development of an intelligently organized society, we are here concerned only with the rôle of state government in the control of deviant juvenile behavior. What military developments may do to the rôle of the federal government must be left to the future to determine.

FOUR AREAS OF AID

Over and above the various security and other functions already touched upon, there are at least four ways in which any state government can and should contribute to the reduction of juvenile maladjustment.

1. It can and should contribute *by strengthening existing protections.* In most states practical court workers find that existing protections could be strengthened in many ways—for example, by reorganizing the juvenile probation system. In many states, as in Michigan in 1940, the county-unit system of probation was in force. This was a relic of horse-and-buggy days. It resulted, as we have said, in gross inequalities in probation services as between rich counties and poor ones. If probation is worth maintaining at all, obviously government should not go on wasting taxpayers' money on it. This means, in the end, some form of state aid or even state control with trained probation officers under a merit system to enable good men to look forward to probation as a career that offers decent rewards.

Another way in which protections can be strengthened is by putting teeth into existing laws in certain states like Michigan to enable the juvenile courts to hold parents responsible in cases involving willful damage to property, truancy, and the like, and to punish adults who contribute to the delinquency of a minor. In many states the juvenile court laws permit the juvenile court to deal directly only with the accused child. In order to get at irresponsible parents and the cheap crooks who encourage children to steal for profit it is necessary in Michigan, for example, under such laws for the court officials to go into some other court and start an entirely separate criminal action. This is clumsy, wasteful, and inefficient. In practice, it results in irresponsible

parents and adult criminals who contribute to the delinquency of minors violating the law practically with impunity.

Another way in which government could strengthen existing protections would be to extend the juvenile court age. In 15 states the original jurisdiction of children's courts reaches only to the age of 16. In 9 others it reaches only to the age of 17, and in some—for example, Michigan—even this is weakened by the provision that for felony offenses beyond the age of 15 the juvenile court must share jurisdiction with the criminal court. In 20 states, jurisdiction reaches to the age of 18, and in 2, California and Arkansas, to the age of 21. In a 17-year-limit state such as Michigan, because of limitations on employment of children under 18, there are a number of contradictions in the laws which would be simplified by raising the age limit to 18, and the work of the juvenile court would be facilitated.

Unfortunately, however, there are many evidences that even the present limits may be precarious in public opinion. For example, in Michigan there has been a tendency on the part of juvenile courts, especially in rural areas, to waive jurisdiction in almost all cases involving felony offenses between the ages of fifteen and seventeen. Apparently what is needed is not so much additional legislation as public education in the whole theory and practice of the juvenile court.

2. Coordinate with its function of strengthening existing protections, state government can also *assist in the control of deviant behavior by the closer coordination of existing agencies.* In California, the coordinating council movement has found it useful to employ a state coordinator. In Michigan, the same functions have been placed under the Michigan Child Guidance Institute.

3. Another avenue of assistance by state government lies *in raising the standards of personnel in delinquency prevention and treatment agencies.* It is obviously desirable that the highest levels of training and skill, now usually not found outside of a few of the larger centers, be gradually made standard for all persons in a state performing technical functions affecting children. This might be brought about in a number of ways. Provision might be made for training on the job. Minimum standards might be laid down by law. Appointments and dismissals might be brought under a merit system and political influence be reduced to a mini-

mum. Details can always be worked out through time. The first
essential is for influential people in a state to realize the need of
getting more trained people into juvenile court work, into the
probation service, on correctional institution staffs, into commu-
nity organization work, and the like. To realize the need merely
in an intellectual, detached sort of way is not enough. One must
realize it emotionally, realize that the lack of trained people is
costing taxpayers money and costing maladjusted children un-
necessary suffering and waste. We must realize that in an intelli-
gent society such things cannot go on, and we must determine that
they shall not go on.

Then comes the problem of transmitting our desires into action
at the state capitol. This means social action—publicity, organiza-
tion, pressure; ultimately, legislation. There is no use shirking
the fact that a serious attempt to reduce child maladjustment will
call for the expenditure of state money to provide facilities, to
coordinate existing agencies, and to raise the level of personnel.

But it will save money in the end.

A final function of state government and one of the most
important is:

4. *To supplement and add to existing facilities urgently needed
to combat the problem of child maladjustment.* Notably lacking,
inadequately available, for combatting child maladjustment in
such typical states as Michigan are adequate facilities for handling
mental defectives. From 1 to 4 per cent of the school children of
the state are probably far enough below par mentally to need
special attention. No comprehensive state program for meeting
this problem has ever been formulated. Many of the boys at the
Michigan Boys' Vocational School at Lansing in 1939 were
classifiable as dull-normal. Unfortunately, for years the principal
state home for the feeble-minded at Lapeer had been so over-
crowded that years might elapse between commitment and
admission. Thousands of cases needing institutionalization re-
mained in their home communities, potential menaces to every-
body. The solution of the problem of the mental defectives in
such a state as Michigan waited in 1940 on (a) more facilities for
institutionalizing serious cases; (b) provision of supervisory service
for less serious cases remaining in their home communities; and

(c) great development of personal guidance and vocational programs in the schools, particularly in the rural districts.

This situation was by no means peculiar to Michigan. It was, in fact, a condition common to most states of the Union.

Another type of facility urgently needed in nearly all states is some treatment agency midway between local probation and the ordinary type of security correctional institution. The Los Angeles Juvenile Court experimented for several years with a correctional camp. A Correctional Camp for Young Men was authorized by the 1935 Michigan legislature which, however, failed to make an appropriation for that purpose. It is probable that minimum security treatment would be even more effective with boys and young girls than with young men and young women. For a number of years the Kellogg Foundation in Michigan has operated three camps on a nine-months basis for the treatment of difficult problem cases. These camps with a capacity of about 130 represent merely a beginning of an attack on the problem. The experience of a number of years at the University of Michigan Fresh Air Camp near Ann Arbor also indicates that camping, when combined with the careful study and diagnosis of the individual case plus psychiatric treatment and intelligent follow-up, offers a hopeful means for treating children whose maladjustments have not yet become definitely anti-social.

Courts of domestic relations represent another type of facility which may be of great value under certain conditions. In many states family matters have been divided between the courts of criminal jurisdiction, the probate court, and the so-called juvenile courts which are frequently mere subdivisions of one of the others. In a large center, this subdivision of jurisdiction is generally regarded by social workers as inefficient. Courts of domestic relations which handle all family troubles from divorce to placement of orphaned children have been in operation for years in some states, notably in New York. The Judicial Council of Michigan in its seventh annual report dated July, 1937, felt that there would be no gain and perhaps some loss if the current methods of handling family cases by the criminal courts, the probate courts, and the juvenile courts were combined in one family relations court. The commission felt that the same end could be achieved by better administrative·methods in the existing courts.

The difficulty always is, of course, to introduce the improved administrative methods. It is probably true, as the commission pointed out, that to set up a family relations court would increase costs and that outside of large population centers such an increase in cost would hardly be justified. Nevertheless, the commission recommended that if the state constitution were to be revised in the near future, the provision conferring on the probate courts original jurisdiction in all cases of juvenile delinquency and dependency should be eliminated so as to leave the legislature free to create unified family courts if that seemed to be expedient at some later date.

A final type of facility, which is exemplified by the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research, the Ohio Institute for Juvenile Research, and the Michigan Child Guidance Institute, is some organization which combines research functions with clinical service for maladjusted children. It has gradually become apparent that our schools, our juvenile courts and our correctional institutions in practically all states need the services of trained psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers. If these services are to be available to poor counties as well as to rich, they must be paid for by the state on the basis of taxation that redistributes the accumulated wealth and higher incomes of the cities. Only on such a basis can we redress the enormous economic differentials which exist between great industrial counties such as Cook County, Illinois, Wayne County, Michigan, or Cuyahoga County, Ohio, and such comparatively poor counties as are found in southern Illinois, in the cut-over areas of northern Michigan, and in the hilly country in southern Ohio.

It is also apparent, however, that merely to provide service is not enough. Along with service there must go a comprehensive program of research, adult education and state and local organization—in short, a mobilization of science, technology, social action and social organization. How this has been attempted in one state will be described in Chapter XIX.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Why have governmental functions been expanding?
2. What are the outstanding behavior controls supplied by government?

3. What is the general principle that seems to direct the expansion of governmental functions in the United States?
4. What interests should be considered in evaluating the expansion of governmental functions?
5. In what ways other than in its security functions can government assist in delinquency control?
6. Give specific examples of existing protections that might be strengthened.
7. How could government assist in coordinating existing agencies?
8. What has government to do with standards in this field?
9. What special services can government supply?
10. When should the state government rather than local governments supply clinical services?
11. What are some of the special services needed in Michigan which have been inadequately supplied?

The Functions of the School

THE PRESSURES ON THE SCHOOL

Every school operates under the ever shifting pressures of many different variables. These include the *traditions* of the time and place; the school's own *momentum*—the fact that it is a process and therefore has a future as well as a present and a past; its own *equipment and financial resources and obligations*; the *children*, their number, capacities, vicissitudes; the *parents*, their attitudes and expectations; the *school personnel*—job-centered, subject-centered, child-centered, community-centered, organized, unorganized, efficient, inefficient; the *controlling board*; the *politicians*; *interest groups* within the community and without; the *newspapers*, i.e., the direction of public attention; *other schools*, the "profession," colleges and universities; *other local institutions* —the courts, the police, the social agencies; the *state and national governments*, standards, subsidies, etc.; *dominant personalities*— leading citizens, "stuffed shirts," rich men's sons; the *culture of the time*—factories, farms, automobiles, cigarettes, movies, birth control, basketball, science, invention; *social tension*—the impact of accident and crisis; and the *state of the nation generally*—war, peace, prosperity, depression. All these condition the work of the school, but especially important are the forces of social change— science, the machine, urbanism—the accumulating maladjustments of poverty, crime, depression, war. It is the growing pressure of a dynamic society that is forcing the school to broaden its functions and to deepen its objectives. The demands on the school are changing because our economic, political, and social life is changing.

THE NEED OF MORE SKILLS AND BETTER ADJUSTMENT

The modern world is more complex than was that of Washington and Lincoln. Not only is the business of getting a living more

complex in a world of automatic machines, giant corporations, and chronic unemployment, but the problem of understanding one's world is vastly more difficult. Hence, modern children need to be equipped with a wider knowledge, a greater range of skills. The modern child must *know* more.

But the modern world is not only more complex; it is also, in social terms vastly more dangerous. The whole trend of modern science is to increase man's power—power over the environment, *power to affect other people*. Used for socially desirable ends, this increased power has reduced the risks of infection, famine, needless death. Used for socially undesirable ends, it has increased the risks of anti-social behavior—the risks of exploitation, crime, war. So it comes down to this: not only must the modern child *know* more, he must be *a better-adjusted personality* than was his grandfather if our new powers are not to add to human misery and suffering. If he is not to use increased power to satisfy thwarted emotional drives by victimizing and exploiting others, the modern child must be *emotionally healthy*.

Given modern machine guns and air bombs, the world cannot afford any more Dillingers and Hitlers. All of which adds up to plenty of headaches for the modern school.

THE SCHOOL'S MAJOR DIFFICULTIES

Problems of at least ten kinds confront the public schools of America.

1. *Adequate Economic Support.*—Between 1930 and 1936 while the average public school attendance was increasing 4.6 per cent in the United States total expenditures *decreased* 15 per cent. In thousands of school districts, schools closed completely for years at a time. In other words, while the school population five to seventeen years old had been *increasing* over 4 per cent, there had been a *cultural regression* in the total expenditures for education in this country to the level of 1925. As the depression continued and as the menace of world disorganization grew, following the outbreak of the second World War in Europe, it became increasingly clear that the problem of financing all kinds of social services for a comfort economy would become more and more difficult in a nation compelled to live in a world organizing itself more and more definitely for military purposes. Among the first

symptoms of the increasing strain were restrictions on taxing powers, organizations of taxpayers' leagues, and demands by chambers of commerce that the schools regress still more to the cultural, level of 1872 or further when high school pupils still had to pay tuition.

2. *Rural Education.*—Despite the spread of the consolidated school movement, rural education continued in 1940 to be an area of cultural lag. The small tax unit, the small working unit, the lack of well-trained supervision in most school districts, poor leadership, the unequal distribution of wealth as between prosperous counties and unprosperous counties and as between rural counties and urban counties, inexperience of most rural teachers, and the unsettled condition of agriculture generally—all these made the problem of rural education apparently insoluble without progressive state and national leadership. In 1940 there were still 130,000 one-teacher schools in this country attended by nearly 10 per cent of our school children.

3. *Equalization of School Taxation.*—The enormous discrepancies in American culture in the distribution of wealth as between different social classes in the same community, between different communities in the same region, and between different regions, made the problem of providing educational equality of opportunity one of exceeding difficulty. As the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy pointed out in 1940, of the 75,000,000 adults in the United States, about 36,000,000 had not finished elementary school, nearly a million children of elementary school age were not in school, and the school opportunities of hundreds of thousands of children of migrant and rural families and of Negroes were deplorable and often entirely absent.

4. *How Make the School a Community Institution?*—It was the exceptional community in 1940 that could boast that its school buildings were in use twelve or fourteen hours a day for community as well as classroom purposes. In town after town there was the spectacle of school boards keeping an investment of hundreds of thousands of dollars lying idle in the evening for the lack of a few dollars worth of light, heat, and janitor service. On a million dollars at 4 per cent the interest is $109 a day, or $27.42 for the six hours from four to ten P.M. Even the most politically minded school board ought to be able to turn

on the lights and hire a janitor to keep steam up for $27.00 an evening![1] More adequate utilization of school plants implies, of course, the ultimate use of the school as a community center. Tradition-minded school men may shy at this and economical board members who regard school property as a trust to be wasted by non-use may grow red in the face at the heresy, but there is no escape. The school must function as a community institution or it must continue to function inefficiently and ineffectively.

This means a definite gearing of the school to provide leisure time facilities, adult education, and local leadership for the entire community. Within a generation, modern technology has cut the working time of the ordinary citizen from more than sixty hours a week to less than fifty, and in many occupations to less than forty. Fluctuations of the business cycle provide millions of people with weeks and even years of involuntary leisure. Four million out-of-school and out-of-work youth, and millions of adults "too old at forty," add to the problem. For all this new leisure time, our culture has provided no fruitful outlets. What is the school to do with this accumulating free time in the hands of all classes and all ages? There has never been anything quite like it before in the history of the world. As technology continues to advance, if there is no widespread cultural regression due to war, there would seem to be no reason why part at least of the falling costs of production could not continue to be transformed into more leisure for all, as well as lower prices, higher wages, and more profits. So, the problem of leisure time in any ordinary community is not a passing difficulty or one that is likely to become less important.

To date, the schools have done little enough to equip ordinary pupils with leisure time interests and leisure time skills. They hardly have yet begun to face the opportunities open to them for enriching the growing leisure time of the adults in their own communities. The lingering mores of the rural village culture still hamstring the more progressive teachers and school executives.

[1] Lowell Juilliard Carr, "Teaching the School as a Major Social Institution, The Viewpoint of a Sociologist," *11th Yearbook of the Department of Elementary School Principals*, Michigan Education Association, 1939, p. 27.

5. *Character Education.*—Character education and mental hygiene are closely related. Harvey W. Zorbaugh distinguishes between character and personality, pointing out that character has to do with the individual's socialization, personality with his integration, although both are interrelated. Professor Harold H. Anderson concludes that we need both socialization and personal integration—both character education and mental hygiene.

6. *Health Education.*—To what extent should the community assume the responsibility for the health of the child? A generation ago there was bitter opposition in Detroit when the first school health program was introduced. In 1940 all progressive school systems included school physicians and school nurses. Yet as we have seen in Chapter IX, eight out of thirteen fairly typical Michigan *counties* had no school physicians in any of their school systems, six had no school dentists, and four had no school nurses. And this was typical of conditions in most other states.

7. *Adult Education.*—If American democracy is to readjust itself to the cumulative maladjustments produced by science, invention, and modern business, adults must know a great deal more about their own communities and about the processes of social life than they do at present. Since we cannot wait for the new generation to mature, and since the new generation's information would be mostly out of date by the time it did mature, the only solution would seem to be a widespread program of adult education. How is it to be paid for and how is it to be taught to its pupils?

Equally pressing, perhaps, is some clarification of the purpose and scope of adult education itself. Sometimes the term has been used to refer to so-called "cultural," or ornamental, education for adults. Sometimes it has referred to vocational education for the over-school-age groups. Sometimes school men interested in community organization have used it to refer to the process of providing the information and skills needed to enable the people of a community to see their own civic problems and to attack them intelligently. Another reference, which social workers have been inclined to resent, applies to the process of providing the information and skills necessary for more efficient local cooperation—the information and skills essential not only to democracy as a process but more specifically to the success of a coordinating

council, let us say. Finally, there has sometimes been an implied reference to the process of providing the information and skills necessary to enable any community's leaders to make the most of state and federal services and to cooperate more effectively with other communities.

Leaders in social work regard most of the territory covered by these last three references as belonging to the field of community organization. This is a quarrel that need not detain us. Whether we call them adult education or community organization, the information and skills needed to solve local problems, further local cooperation, and integrate the community more closely with other communities and with state and federal agencies seem to be so urgently needed in most communities that one almost wishes this sort of "education" or "organization" could be made compulsory. If military service can be demanded on occasion of every adult male of useful age, why cannot every adult, male and female alike, above a certain I.Q. or a certain level of social responsibility—such as the presidency of a board of education or chairmanship of a woman's club, for example—be required to keep himself or herself fit to function as a competent citizen? It is more or less obvious that the old theory of "educating" children and then trusting adults to keep themselves effectively oriented to the world around them—that theory rooted in the stereotype of the omnicompetent citizen, as Lippmann calls it, and based on belief in the essential simplicity of the social environment—has been exploded by the impact of science, the machine, and the city. As a matter of self-survival in a world of dictators and totalitarian governments, democracy must either reduce the power of the ignorant and the immature or reduce the amount of ignorance and immaturity.

8. *Vocational Education and Placement.*—As a result of depression following the first World War, England set up social machinery to smooth the transition from school to work. After-care committees looked after the future education of young people in their leisure hours and their moral welfare. Choice-of-employment committees saw to it that young people had suitable occupations. In London after-care began before a boy or girl left school. The first step was the school-leaving conference in which the head teacher and an official of the Juvenile Employment Ex-

change, the boy, and his parents canvassed his future. After placement by the Juvenile Employment Exchange, another organ, the Supervisory Rota, kept contact with the boy (or girl) and the employer to smooth all difficulties that might arise. If employment could not be secured, the adolescent was encouraged to return to school or to join one of the junior instruction centers which existed in large numbers in England and Wales.[2] The English, in other words, definitely recognized school and community responsibility for *doing something* about smoothing the break between school and employment.

American interest has usually been limited to manual training (for the duller pupils), vocational education, and some feeble efforts at placement. Vocational education in this country has usually been severely criticized by industrial executives because its techniques lag far behind the advance of industry. It has been criticized by labor organizations because it has tended to provide a cheap source of labor outside of union control. How are the schools to meet both criticisms and help young people bridge the gap to jobs?

9. *Educational Facilities for Exceptional Children.*—The efforts of the people of one state to meet the needs of exceptional children are summarized on page 362. In 54 cities in Michigan only 2 ranged the full gamut of facilities for all exceptional children— the crippled and cardiac, the deaf and hard of hearing, the blind and partially seeing, the epileptics, the mentally retarded, the speech defectives, the gifted and those of low vitality. Battle Creek and Detroit alone of the 54 had facilities for all these types. Forty-seven out of the 54 had facilities for the mentally retarded; 30 out of the 54 had facilities for the crippled and the cardiacs. Only 2 had special facilities for epileptics. Of course, in several thousand rural districts in the state no facilities for exceptional children of any kind were provided. This was the general picture of privilege and under-privilege throughout the United States in 1940.

10. *Juvenile Maladjustment.*—The public school as the one agency that deals with 90 per cent of the children of the United States bears an especially heavy responsibility in delinquency control. A school program unsuited to a child's capacities, or a

[2] *Delinquency News Letter,* November, 1935, p. 2.

teacher herself not adjusted, may contribute very definitely to delinquency. Many cases of truancy are due primarily to the school. The first great area of school concern, therefore, is to see that it provides a curriculum and a classroom experience that meets the needs of each individual child at each level of his development. But as the one community agency most sensitive to the needs of children, the school cannot stop even with that. Unless the community is unusual in its provision for leisure time the school is the logical center of initiative for dealing with that problem. Certainly for preparing children for parenthood some cooperative understanding between parents and teachers should be worked out. In most schools today the problem is simply being dodged, and most parents are doing the same.

Beyond all this is the great problem of emotional education. The public schools of the United States have hardly even recognized the problem—except in conferences and periodical publications! The vast majority of teachers, especially in rural schools, are utterly untrained in the first principles of mental hygiene and do not know the significance of deviant behavior when it appears. Most urban schools are similarly unprepared. This is not the problem of providing specialized services for maladjusted children but is quite a different matter. This is the problem of meeting the emotional training needs of 30,000,000 school children all over the United States. In its social consequences, emotional illiteracy is probably more serious than any other kind. We have a tradition of more than 2000 years for eliminating intellectual illiteracy but of less than a generation for dealing with emotional illiteracy. Consequently, the ignorance of executives, teachers, and parents in this field is large. So in a broad way we have the task of adjusting the child to the school and adjusting the school to the child. At the extremes of the distribution of any characteristic or capacity this becomes a task of some magnitude. The number of exceptional children in the United States probably considerably exceeds the 9,000,000 estimate of delinquents, problem children, and children in danger. It would include many children of superior capacity as well. We have already noted the special services provided by the schools of urban communities in Michigan for exceptional children. Yet that list of special facilities includes little for problem cases as such. Fourteen

EXTENT OF LOCAL SPECIAL CLASS INSTRUCTION [3]

City	Crippled, Cardiac	Deaf, Hard of Hearing	Blind, Partially Seeing	Epileptic	Mentally Retarded	Speech Defective	Gifted	Low Vitality
Ann Arbor					x			x
Battle Creek	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Bay City	x	x			x			
Benton Harbor	x							
Big Rapids					x			
Boyne City					x			
Coldwater					x			
Detroit	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Dowagiac	x	x			x			
Escanaba	x	x	x		x	x	x	
Ferndale		x	x		x			
Flint	x	x	x		x		x	x
Fordson District	x	x	x		x	x	x	
Grand Rapids	x	x	x		x	x		
Hamtramck	x	x	x		x			x
Hancock	x							
Hazel Park	x				x			
Highland Park	x		x		x			x
Hillsdale					x			
Holland	x	x			x			x
Holly					x			
Iron Mountain	x							
Ishpening					x			
Ironwood		x						
Jackson	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
Kalamazoo	x	x	x		x	x		x
Lansing	x	x	x		x	x		x
Marquette	x				x	x		x
Mason					x			
Monroe	x				x			
Mt. Pleasant					x			
Mt. Clemens	x				x			
Muskegon	x	x	x			x		
Muskegon Heights	x	x						
Niles					x			
Owosso					x			
Paw Paw					x			
Petoskey					x			
Pontiac	x		x		x			
River Rouge					x			
Rochester					x			
Rogers City					x			
Royal Oak	x				x			
Saginaw	x	x	x		x			
Sault Ste. Marie					x			
St. Joseph					x			
St. Louis					x			
Sturgis	x		x					
Trenton					x			
Traverse City	x	x			x			
Wakefield					x			
Wyandotte	x				x			
Ypsilanti	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
Zeeland					x			
Totals	30	20	17	2	47	11	7	12

[3] See *A Directory of Adjustment Services in Michigan for Exceptional Children*, Bulletin Number 312, Eugene B. Elliott, superintendent of public instruction, Lansing, 1939.

of the fifty-four cities reported behavior adjustive services of a psychological or a psychiatric type. Real clinical service, however —guidance clinic service—amounted to only a small fraction of what was actually needed. Apart from the services of the state mental hospitals which sent out-clinic units into twenty-eight communities one day a month to examine adults as well as children, there were only seven clinics available in the entire state, three of them in Detroit. It was unlikely that all the clinics in the state could examine more than 3000 *new* children's cases in any year and only a fraction of these 3000 could receive treatment. Three thousand children a year—and 30,000 to 50,000 children needing help! Yet Michigan was hardly a "backward" state compared with many states in the South and in the West.

WHAT THE SCHOOLS CAN DO

There are at least nine types of services which a community that was in earnest in its desire to curb crime would ask the schools to provide. These services include:

1. Discovery of problem cases.

2. Preliminary diagnosis, prescription, and treatment of each case, as we have already indicated in Chapter IX.

3. Enrichment of curriculum and individualization of instruction to prevent academic maladjustment.

4. Organization of leisure time activities for the community throughout the year.

5. Instruction in mental hygiene.

6. Adult education classes in· mental hygiene and child-rearing for young newlyweds and parents—classes not merely *offered* but "sold" to those that need them.

7. Fact-finding in the local community as a continuous service to government and leadership.

8. Distribution of facts by bulletins at P.T.A. meetings, letters to parents, talks by principals and teachers before civic clubs, exhibits, etc.

9. Local leadership for improving conditions affecting young people.

Several of these functions have been developed in different school systems, notably in Public School 181 in Brooklyn under

the late Nathan Peyser.[4] Obviously in the confidential files in every superintendent's office there should be in addition to the usual records on the academic adjustment of each child and in addition to cumulative case records, two lists of names: first, a list of all children from the kindergarten up whose behavior shows persistent social maladjustment—children who persist in committing anti-social acts, who show abnormal withdrawal tendencies, who suffer personality inferiorities, etc.; second, a list of all children known to be living in situations of more than average delinquency risk, in broken or conflict homes, poverty homes, high-delinquency, immigrant or racial neighborhoods, deteriorated areas, etc.

These records should form the basis of two kinds of preventive work: (a) *case adjustment work* with each maladjusted child by various local agencies brought into the case by a school Case Adjustment Committee (See the School Child Guidance Conference Technique, Chapter IX); and (b) *curriculum adjustment* to be worked out by another committee to make the school fit the child.

If the school is to perform any of the newer functions listed above it inevitably entails a period of parenthood-community education to bring the community up to the school. Two tragedies are too common in ordinary school practice. One is the school administrator who is so afraid of offending someone that he never starts anything and therefore falls farther and farther behind the times. The other is the school administrator who introduces progressive methods, community organization, etc., without having educated the local leadership up to the school's own program. To introduce new ideas without adequate preparation in public relations is to jeopardize the whole program and perhaps the innovator's job.

BACK TO FUNDAMENTALS

There is an even more fundamental question. The school cannot be asked to enlarge its functions unless money is to be forthcoming. Education must be accepted frankly as a process of preparing children for life situations and the school must be regarded as one institution in the community that is dedicated to making intelligence count in life. No school can do its full part

[4] See Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Preventing Crime*, New York, 1936, p. 91.

in the control of delinquency until community leaders face the fact that since the spontaneous socialization of children by the old-fashioned family, neighborhood, and village has largely dis-appeared we must *pay* people to do what life under simpler con-ditions once did for nothing. We cannot cut school budgets and cut crime at the same time. There is no use "if-ing" about that. There is no use regretting, "If we could only handle these things as they used to be handled when I was a boy." The horse and buggy are gone. We must pay the price of living in a world of automobiles, airplanes, and racketeers. Part of the price is the necessity of making a definite, inescapable choice between paying for the performance of the nine services listed above or paying bigger and better crime bills. *We have no choice whatever about paying.* Modern life settles all that. We'll pay and we'll pay plenty. The only question is who shall do the paying and when. Shall we pay more teachers to make good citizens out of our chil-dren or shall we pay more policemen to arrest them, more prison wardens to lock them up, and more racketeers to kidnap and murder them?

WHAT THE SCHOOLS ARE ACTUALLY DOING

It is impossible within the limits of one chapter to do more than call attention to some of the outstanding examples of school leadership in the attack on juvenile delinquency. Here and there throughout the United States enterprising school officials have tried a variety of methods, ranging from the provision of special-ized services for exceptional children as in the Montefiore special School for Problem Children in Chicago, the Binet schools of Newark, the Testing and Clinical Program for Maladjusted Chil-dren in the Detroit Public Schools to the visiting teachers of Rochester, Cincinnati, and many other cities. Such demonstra-tions include also the integration of schools, police, and other agencies in Jersey City and the far-reaching community integra-tion activities centered in the schools as in the late Dr. Nathan Peyser's program in Brooklyn and in the Columbus (Indiana), Foundation for Youth.[6]

The work of Donald DuShane, superintendent of schools in Columbus, Indiana, is an outstanding example of what school

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 68-77, 91-125.   •

leadership can accomplish in a town of 10,000. DuShane introduced psychological and behavior guidance services, ungraded and special classes, a thoroughgoing health service, facilities for physical education and a community-wide program of organization and prevention. This program was ultimately financed by the school board, the recreation-commission, and a voluntarily supported private agency, the Foundation. The Foundation established a boys' club, but the schools, the juvenile court, the churches and the service clubs, the chamber of commerce, and the city council all worked together to meet the problems of young people in that community.

BROOKLYN'S MODEL PROGRAM

At the other end of the urban population scale in the midst of the nation's largest city another school man, Dr. Nathan Peyser, from 1914 to 1936 put on an interesting demonstration, first in Harlem and later in Brooklyn Public School 181. In his Brooklyn school Peyser began by organizing a Mothers' League which worked through a number of committees dealing with relief, child health, preschool education, teacher cooperation, hospitality, social welfare, neighborhood home visitation, and parental education. Presently he formed a Men's League and later brought the two together and formed the Brooklyn Community League. Then he brought into the league other citizens resident in the neighborhood, started making local surveys, and presently had twenty-five committees working on various projects. The league, with the cooperation of the Federal Nursery School Committee, operated a day nursery. It surveyed traffic for safety control purposes. It established a dental clinic. It enlisted the cooperation of physicians, dentists, optometrists, and druggists, so that no family in the community needed to go without medical and dental assistance. It set up offices in the school building and functioned as a first-aid agency for taking children to clinics, to secure dental and surgical treatment, and for providing clothing, food, and other needs for their families. Supported by the league, a number of playgrounds were opened in the neighborhood. The Saturday Club met at the school, and children were taken in small groups about the city to points of interest. The league also organized a program of adult education and was active in encouraging a com-

munity symphonic orchestra. It formed a Junior Service League among the children of the school. The Junior Service division in turn formed a Mothers' Council composed of two parent representatives from each class who met weekly during school hours to discuss ways and means by which the association could contribute to the welfare of the school. Dr. Peyser's final step was the organization of a coordinating council with representatives from forty-two different organizations. Highly skilled leadership was needed for years to hold together the various individuals and organizations working on this complicated program.

Meanwhile the school also was adjusting itself to the needs of its own children and seeking to readjust its trouble cases. Courses of study were revised, remedial teaching was stressed, creative activity was encouraged. Children were early given experience in self-government. The school set about developing personal inventories of all its children. Periodically an accounting was taken of each child to determine the individual's problem situation—in what subjects was he retarded, what physical defects did he have, what behavior symptoms was he showing, what home difficulties or community situations were causing trouble? In 1934 the New York City Principals' Association, after a two-year study by a committee on delinquency prevention, indorsed Dr. Peyser's plan. The Board of Superintendents officially approved it. On the whole, it represents probably the most ambitious and most community-minded program that has been tried in any American city. It is a program that calls for a high degree of administrative ability on the part of the school officials and great skill in community leadership. Even then, it does not include an adequate mental hygiene program for the children or the teachers or for the parents in the community about it. But except for that one omission it probably represents the most complete mobilization of techniques that any school administration has yet attempted.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. List the variables that affect the schools.
2. Why do children need to know more today than their grandfathers did?
3. Why would it be desirable for them to be better-adjusted persons than their grandparents at the same age?

4. What are the ten major difficulties of the public schools?
5. What are the schools' major functions in relation to juvenile maladjustment?
6. What are some fundamental requirements that must be met before public schools can perform these functions?
7. Describe the program of Public School 181, Brooklyn.

What About the Churches?

WHERE DO THE CHURCHES STAND?

Francis D. McCabe, Director of Probation for the state of Indiana, told the Episcopal Social Work Conference at Montreal in June, 1935, that the churches in Indiana had failed to cooperate with his department in its efforts during the preceding year to arouse public opinion to the importance of probation.

The only state in the Union that has attempted on a state-wide basis to inform the public on the values of probation as a correctional measure is Indiana. From May 6 to 12 last year we inaugurated such a program. Every broadcasting station in the state was utilized and no cost was attached for time; the luncheon clubs gave liberally of their time to speakers; the Federation of Women's Clubs carried an announcement of the plan in the April issue of its monthly bulletin, as did also the *Rotarian*; the public press and the Associated Press carried newspaper publicity. But in the main the church fell down.[1]

The Indianapolis Ministerial Association tabled a request for an indorsement. The Episcopal bishop failed to acknowledge receipt of a communication asking him to draw the attention of his clergy to the value of probation.

The failure of the churches, generally, to cooperate in delinquency prevention programs is so widespread that Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief of the United States Children's Bureau, took cognizance of it in a recent address, when she said, "Instances in which probation officers have been definitely handicapped in attempting to work out a program for a child who has been before a juvenile court, or in an institution for juvenile delinquents, because of a narrow or prejudiced attitude of the church itself toward such children might be cited."[2]

[1] National Probation Association, *Church Participation in a Probation Program, Yearbook,* New York, 1935, pp. 189-190.
[2] *Ibid.*

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Mr. McCabe went on to give evidence from various sources showing that religion apparently plays small part in the lives of delinquents, and that church people show little disposition to cooperate with other agencies in attacking the problem. He blamed this less on the ministers themselves than on "the system which enables the well-to-do sinners in the pew to circumscribe the work of the prophet of God with a threat to cut off support, if he offend in the slightest degree."

Of course many individual ministers and even whole congregations do not merit such criticism. Even if most churches are sometimes slow to cooperate with other agencies, it may be because they feel that they are already doing all that is humanly possible for their own boys and girls.

THE NEED OF NEW TECHNIQUES

It is beside the point to say that practically all of the great movements in the modern world which have provided technical means—hospitals, clinics, child-placing agencies, the whole paraphernalia of modern social work for meeting the great problems of life—have grown out of religious motivation. This is unquestionably true.[3] But, though the motivation may have been religious, the modern techniques have come from science and invention. To do the specific jobs required, people motivated by religious impulses early found that they had to go beyond old-fashioned praise-and-blame techniques and even beyond the old simple services of kindness and charity. They had to analyze their problem, organize their field, and invent cause-and-effect techniques. Possibly the same problem confronts the churches today. Wherever there is a need of assisting the group work agencies or of stimulating civic consciousness to the evils in the community, there is also the fact that to meet the needs definite techniques have been evolved and that merely to talk about them and denounce them is no longer adequate. Perhaps church groups are no more at fault than other groups, but it is not uncommon to find ministers, young people, and others gravely discussing some social problem such as unemployment or crime in complete innocence, apparently, that specific information exists in these fields

[3] See Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Contribution of Religion to Social Work,* New York, 1932.

and that there are definite techniques of problem-solving for controlling the situation. This is probably inevitable when people of many different special interests come together and attempt to cover in an hour or two some broad general social problem to which even a college class would devote at least a semester. But too often they seem to be utterly unaware that the mere comparison of uninformed opinions is not the most effective way of solving any problem. This behavior is common to many civic groups, but the peculiarity of so many church groups is that they frequently feel that good intentions somehow get results. Now the hard fact is that while solutions probably can never be achieved without good intentions, *good intentions alone are utterly inadequate.* Between complete indifference, on the one hand —that is to say, escape into rationalizations about the next world, etc.—and the highly specialized techniques of modern social work and social action, on the other, church people of all faiths are challenged to find effective functions for themselves and their organizations.

There is a challenge to most churches, or to most church people, to go beyond mere verbalization about the problem of delinquency control. Verbal exhortation and the verbalization of certain behavior guides may have some place in the training of young people, but it is a far less important place than many moral teachers have realized. It is a vastly more efficient training in the development of Christian character, for example, to send Johnny to bed regularly at a respectable hour than it is to scold him and exhort him about his naughtiness when he has been permitted to stay up till he is so tired he can't be anything but naughty. The same principle applies throughout the entire field of conduct control. It is much more efficient to create the external conditions which make acceptable behavior easy and almost inevitable than it is to disregard such conditions and then try to control behavior by blame and punishment. This applies to a church group's interest or lack of interest in the family and neighborhood surroundings of their children.

SOME DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY

That young people need orientation in religious values and that this orientation may usefully be given in connection with

the great traditions of the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, and the Jewish faiths, is generally accepted as self-evident. Unfortunately, where this need seems to be greatest (namely, in the deteriorated, high-risk areas of great cities), the statistical chance of church contacts seems to be lowest. Apparently the Catholic Church has kept contact with young people in these areas more successfully than has the Protestant Church. Studies in St. Louis and Pittsburgh have shown that Protestant churches have tended to follow the migration of middle-class homes. But it is questionable to what extent they have followed the migration of the young middle-class mind. Many are accused of being adult-centered and ineffective in their grip on the interests of young people. Naturally there are many not open to such charges. Much depends upon the leadership of any particular church.

But the problem of what churches, particularly Protestant churches, *can* contribute toward keeping the normals normal in the great urban centers has by no means been solved. Certainly it is suggestive that in the Gluecks' symposium on preventing crime the authors covered community organization programs. school programs, the work of courts and boys' work programs, *but did not include any church program.*[4] It is easy to say that the delinquency and maladjustment problem would be more serious were there no churches in an area, but it is hard to back up such a statement with objective evidence. Christianity has so permeated American culture that particular agencies of it may be relatively unimportant—but the point of view itself remains all-important. Thorndike, for example, in his study of 310 American cities above 30,000, was unable to find any correlation between goodness-of-life score and any obtainable objective measurements of church activity or membership.[5] This may only mean, of course, that church membership and church activity are poor indexes of a church's influence on its community.

On the other hand, there are instances in which highly emotionalized types of religion have contributed to individual maladjustment. There are instances in which the ultra-conservative administration of well-to-do church properties has driven Boy Scout troops out of church basements and slashed young-people's-

[4] See Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Preventing Crime,* New York, 1936.
[5] *Your City,* New York, 1939.

work budgets to increase expenditures on the choir! In one area of 1300 families, many of them southern mountaineers, in a small northern industrial city in 1939 there were six revival meetings running at the same time. And it was customary for parents to take the whole family—babes in arms, toddlers, and all—shortly after supper and stay till nearly midnight, night after night. Ministers have been called to supposedly enlightened churches for the express purpose, as one church official once put it, of "ending this infernal monkey business," namely, the somewhat noisy presence of groups of youngsters in the church parlors on week days. When the surprised applicant refused point blank to take that particular commission and the board proceeded to hire him on his own terms, the offended "pillar" resigned in a huff and later took another substantial contributor along with him out of the church altogether.

But to what extent should a church attempt in its own organization to supply leisure time activities? Does the existence of specialized leisure time agencies mean that the church has no function in this field? The Catholic Youth Organization indicates clearly enough the answer of one great religious body. In Canada the J.O.C.—*Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique*—with its program aimed at occupying the leisure time of all the people as well as that of young workers, seems to be striking even deeper.[6] Yet there are many churchmen who sincerely feel that action of this kind is not the function of the church. Said one Episcopal clergyman:

"I don't want to run an institutional church. I want my church to be a powerhouse of moral motivation, a place where men and women receive inspiration to go out and do these things through other . . . organizations."

HERE VS. HEREAFTER

Moreover, there are many sincere people who feel that active interest on the part of church leaders in specific social problems

[6] For example, the slogan *"La jeunesse ouvrière est plus exploitée dans ses loisirs que son travail!"*—"The young worker is more exploited in his leisure than in his work"—indicates clearly a far-sighted recognition of the social dangers involved in allowing discontented idle people to drift in the modern world of competing propagandas. See R. P. Henri Roy, O. M. I., *Un problème et une Solution*; and Emil Benoist, *Un Moteur et Des Ailes*, Montreal, 1937.

is "worldly" and belittling. The church's business, they say, is to preach the gospel and save souls for the next world. Certain of the great Protestant denominations definitely have this point of view which also marks some of the smaller, more emotional sects.

As against this attitude, of course, it can be urged that as a group functioning in a community, every church owes a social obligation to other groups and individuals, and under modern conditions that obligation goes beyond paying its bills and keeping its doors open a few hours a week. In so far as a church is the organized expression of a theory of life based on the primacy of ethical values, to that extent it has a right to expect its members to contribute to the realization of those values here and now. This means that there can be no escaping the obligation to make religion functional in the community. A religion of escape is a religion adapted, perhaps, to simpler, prescientific cultures, but certainly not to the industrial city and the slum.

CHURCHES SHOULD DEFINE THEIR FUNCTIONS

What churches should do and what they can do to contribute to the control of delinquency are questions to be answered by church people themselves. The questions have nothing to do with the admitted and customary functions of the churches for the great majority of so-called normal, or non-exceptional, children.[7]

One of the first suggestions that usually occurs to the layman is the possibility of extending church contacts to the 50 or 60 per cent of any ordinary community who are not church members. This is, of course, an old problem in home missionary work with which the churches have been confronted for a long time. Shortly after the Revolution, for example, it was estimated that only 4 per cent of the new nation were church members, and Chief Justice John Marshall, among others, thought that the churches were on the way out. How to reach more people seems to be partly a problem of readjusting ideologies and methods to new conditions such as science, machine industry, and urban living, and partly a problem of competing effectively with the insistent

[7] Measurement of the religious backgrounds of delinquents has hardly even been attempted. To tabulate the child's religious preference or that of his family tells nothing. What does religion *mean* in the child's life? What is his view of the world and the meaning of life?

stimuli of a materialistic world in which the church has lost its old-time monopoly of the Sabbath. Possibly if churches could solve their problem of how to reach the unchurched, the high percentage of delinquent children who have little or no religious training would automatically take care of itself.

TRENDS TOWARD NON-PARTICIPATION

Yet there are ominous trends within some of the Protestant denominations, at least, that suggest growing rather than decreasing difficulty in the solution of this problem. Before the Reformation it was imperatively necessary for the individual to make contact with the clergy in order to insure his future in the hereafter. The road to salvation ran through the church and nowhere else. For non-Catholics, the Reformation eliminated the church as the necessary intermediary and substituted the direct, personal, individual relationship to God. But it was still regarded as necessary for the individual to *do* something about it, and the new churches offered the most direct outlet of action. One's relationship to God might be ever so personal, but only by church membership and participation did one keep that relationship vital.

This sense of the need of active participation in a church group as a prerequisite to salvation, the social gospel, modern science, and practical materialism have changed as radically as the Reformation changed the rôle of the church itself. While some of the great Protestant denominations and practically all the smaller emotional sects still cling to the "preaching of salvation" as their major function, religious liberalism has changed the emphasis in many Methodist, Congregational, Presbyterian, Unitarian, and Universalist pulpits. Beginning as a means to the same supernatural end, the social gospel has directed more and more of the worshiper's attention to the here and now at the very time that science and the pressures of practical life have likewise been intensifying the demands of this world. The net result has been the gradual strengthening of the impression that while individual salvation may still be the ultimate objective, the immediate goal is a finer community. But, solving more and more of his practical problems by scientific, cause-and-effect methods, the average man can retain a living interest in supernaturalism only by mak-

ing a definite cleavage between knowledge and faith. Many in the great liberal Protestant churches have not made the sharp distinction. As their interest in the here and now has increased, their concern with the hereafter has declined.

This shift has inevitably involved a weakening of the old personal motives for religious participation. When the objective is personal salvation and one must go to church to save one's soul in the hereafter, the individual himself must go—nobody else can do it for him. But when one is asked to come to church to help build a finer community, there is always the possibility that the folks next door can pinch hit for him while he reads the Sunday paper. The liberal churches seem, therefore, to be facing a dilemma: If they go back to the preaching of old-fashioned, individualistic, personal salvation, they must fly in the face of their own awakened social consciences and almost certainly must lose mental contact with the younger generation trained in cause-and-effect thinking and little interested in the hereafter. If they stick to the social gospel, they must find motivations to participation other than salvation through social justice and community reform.

The dilemma does not decrease the difficulties of reaching the unchurched.

CHURCHMEN FACE THE PROBLEM

Perhaps because the great function of the churches is unquestionably to serve the non-exceptional majority, churchmen have had little to say about the specific functions of the churches in delinquency control. Of course every minister has exhorted bad boys and girls to change their ways, just as he has exhorted the rest of the community to observe the moral law. But the question is, specifically what can the churches do beyond exhorting?

One interesting list of suggestions was proposed by representatives of Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths meeting in Ann Arbor in November, 1939, in response to a state call from the Michigan Child Guidance Institute, with the approval of Governor Dickinson. Divided into three groups, rural communities, small cities, and metropolitan Detroit, the churchmen offered proposals directed at conditions in these three different types of communities.

1. *For Rural Churches.*—The rural group presented a three-fold report: (a) causes of delinquency; (b) the function of the church in a rural area; and (c) the program of the church to deal with delinquency.

a. *Causes of Delinquency:*

    i. The tension created by developing a desire for things on the one hand, and the actual poverty which prevents the legitimate securing of the things advertised. This tension leads to realizing of desires by some illegal method.

    ii. Emotional factors in the desire to attract attention. Frustrated in other ways, desires express themselves in the violation of laws.

    iii. The failure of the church to develop a culture which makes it possible for people to live together in friendlier relationships. The church has often developed a type of culture which sets one group off against another.

    iv. The lack of recreational facilities in rural communities.

    v. Family discord.

    vi. Lack of discipline in the school system.

    vii. Inefficiency of law enforcement methods.

    viii. Mental deficiencies.

    ix. Unemployment.

b. *The Function of the Church in a Rural Area* should be, in the first place, to prevent delinquency wherever possible.

    i. Economic and social justice should be preached and talked.

    ii. Through the program of adult religious education, in cooperation with youth, true Christian ideals should be mutually discovered and leadership in their realization should be given.

    iii. Church and pastor should have a constructive attitude toward the delinquent. Program of the church should be such as to include rather than exclude the delinquent.

    iv. The church should be interested in a program of recreation.

c. *The Program of the Church to Deal with Delinquency:*

   i. The church should have a sympathetic attitude toward the delinquent.

   ii. The church should be interested in coordinating and integrating the efforts of community agencies and all constructive forces.

   iii. The church must project itself into the unchurched areas with a program of fellowship.

   iv. There should be a cooperative relationship of the church expressed through pastor and laymen, with the probate judge, in an attempt to give some sympathetic guidance to delinquents.

   v. Councils of churches should encourage cooperation of churches in this field.

   vi. Adult groups should be encouraged to study causes of delinquency, and the Adult Department of the International Council might be asked to develop material in this field.

   vii. Through the men and women of the churches, the "Big Brother" idea might be developed.

2. *For the Medium-sized Cities.*—The medium-sized city churches saw the problem as involving the church as an institution; the minister as an individual; and the church as a cooperating agency in the community. The group recommendations follow:

a. *As an Institution:*

   i. The church should function as a community center. The physical equipment (other than the worship sanctuary) should be made available for creative recreation and social activity.

   ii. Youth organizations such as the C.Y.O. and the Methodist Epworth League should be encouraged in their program activities for youth and young people.

   iii. The religious educational program should be expanded from the teaching of the Scripture on Sunday to a weekday program, including craft guilds for young people.

   iv. Groups within the church should study child delin-

quency and conduct projects to better the situation in their neighborhood.

b. *The Minister:*
   i. Use the pulpit to interpret the work of community agencies interested in child guidance.
   ii. Call in individuals in his parish who are directly related to the problem.
   iii. Accept, as a citizen within a community, a "case" under the direction of a local agency, so that this work will be a part of his own experience.
   iv. Not only to be willing to "go across the tracks" but to GO.
   v. Welcome and guide young people who return from state institutions to live in the community.
   vi. Be interested in, and help as far as possible, the efforts within a community to awaken interest in the problem and to cooperate to better life.

c. *The Church as a Cooperating Agency:*
   i. Encourage and perhaps participate in the Big Brother Movement, or other such groups.
   ii. Foster and help in local meetings and discussions on this problem.
   iii. Be "worried" more and more about the 60 per cent of our communities who are not reached or influenced by any church.

3. *For the Metropolitan Churches.*—In the Detroit group the general conclusion was that:

a. There needs to be a real increase in church contacts with boys and girls released from the Detention Home, from Ford Republic and from the state institutions for boys and girls. A method should be worked out by which the local pastor is notified whenever a boy or girl is released to return to the local community.

b. As compared with the work of the Catholic church in contacting Catholic boys and girls who have been taken to the Wayne County Juvenile Court, Protestant members of the group felt that the Protestant churches in Detroit did not have adequate staffs to meet the needs of their delinquents.

c. **The need** of revitalizing neighborhood interests in a large city was especially stressed. "All of us who are familiar with families of our particular neighborhoods—the policemen, the social workers, the ministers, the rabbis, the priests, the visiting nurses, community workers and the teachers—should get together and find ways to develop again the spirit of friendliness and neighborliness which is so needed in our city communities."

d. Another great need is for the dramatization of these social problems and their attempted solutions to the laymen of the various churches. Here again the emphasis is on the church as a valuable agency for interpreting the work of other agencies to its members.

THE LAYMAN'S POINT OF VIEW

Modern conditions challenge church people to invest their growing leisure time in service. In the nature of the case, this service will be more efficient if it is organized so as to be ready to respond to needs and so distributed as to avoid duplications and omissions. From this point of view it would be desirable for every church to gear into delinquency prevention by organizing itself to do six things:

1. Study and map delinquency-risk factors in its territory.

2. Secure and keep up to date the necessary information on local social agencies and other facilities that church workers might utilize in planning activities.

3. Cooperate with other churches in making contacts with all boys and girls brought into the juvenile court.

4. Cooperate with other churches in making contacts with all boys and girls in a given territory living in high-risk situations: in broken homes, in poverty homes, etc.

5. Cooperate with the schools in treating problem cases.

6. Provide guidance counseling for boys and girls in trouble.

Every church in every community of 10,000 or more needs a *research committee* to collect data on the community and its problems; and a *social service committee* to do things on the basis of the facts revealed. The research committee could well utilize the curiosity and enthusiasm of the younger members. The social service committee needs maturity and understanding

of community relationships. Particularly it needs a clear picture of the social agencies in the community, the uses of the confidential exchange for the clearance of all cases, and sufficient humility to keep from rushing into amateur case work so long as it is humanly possible to beg, hire, or borrow trained case workers to do the job.

One of the first and most difficult tasks in most churches will be to reeducate church members to appreciate something of the complexity of human motivation. There are no "good" boys and "bad" boys, but innumerable degrees of both.

It will also assist clear thinking if we remember that *only individuals act*—the term "church" is merely a convenient way of referring to individuals related in a certain way. The point is, whatever the "church" is to *do* must be *done* by: (1) clergymen and their paid assistants; (2) lay officials of the church; or (3) individual lay members. The church as such can never do anything nor can any other institution or organization.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Why are churches under fire by workers in the delinquency-prevention field?
2. What do you understand by the religious motivation of social work?
3. What is the dilemma of the churches in the delinquency-control field?
4. What are the major difficulties in the way of the churches in their field?
5. What are the conflicting points of view among churchmen on this question?
6. What seem to be the problems that the churches must solve in order to reach more people?
7. Explain the "trend toward non-participation."
8. What do churchmen suggest for rural churches in this field?
9. For churches in medium-sized cities?
10. For churches in the big cities?
11. What suggestions can be made from the layman's point of view?
12. In what way does any church "do" anything?

Theory in Action—The Michigan Child Guidance Institute

An Experiment

When the Michigan legislature passed and Governor Frank Murphy signed in 1937 the Palmer-Flynn-David M. Martin Bill enacting the Orr plan, the state started an experiment in the control of juvenile delinquency unique in the United States. It was unique in that unlike any other institute or clinic the Michigan Child Guidance Institute, which was created under the bill, was set up for the express purpose of mobilizing scientific research, technical services, social action, and social organization on a state-wide front. Its commission from the legislature stated that it was created "for the purpose of inquiring into the causes of child delinquency, of improving methods of treatment in cases of delinquent, neglected, and defective children and/or coordinating the work of public and private agencies in examining and caring for such children."

Placed under the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan as trustees, the Institute was an integral part of an educational institution, and education thus became its fundamental purpose. Research, clinical service, social action, and social organization all became means to the ultimate end—the education of the leaders of the state to the significance of delinquency and how to control it. As a state agency, the problem confronting the Institute was state-wide. And yet, as a new agency with an appropriation averaging less than one dollar per year per maladjusted child in the state, the Institute was forced to begin its attack with a woeful inadequacy of facilities. To begin the mobilization of science, technical services, social action, and social organization for a child population of more than one million spread over a territory including distances greater than that from Detroit to

Washington,[1] the Institute could marshal only one part-time director, one psychiatrist, one psychologist, three psychiatric social workers, one field sociologist, and one field investigator. But within the first twenty-four months this small staff examined more than 500 children, organized local cooperative treatment for more than 200 of these children in five counties, carried through a problem-child survey in one entire county; initiated a research program in one small city for raising the adjustment level of an entire area; distributed more than 200,000 copies of its *Delinquency News Letter* to a mailing list of more than 10,000 state leaders; contributed to better community adjustment in more than 30 different communities; and vitally affected the thinking of tens of thousands of citizens all over the state.

Where did the plan for this institution come from? How was it organized? How did it carry on its fourfold attack with the limited resources at its disposal? What were some of the results of its first two years of operation? These questions we shall answer briefly in this chapter.

ORIGINS OF THE COMPREHENSIVE ATTACK

Theoretical origins of the scientific-technological problem-solving pattern go far back into the history of social thought. The sociologists whose thinking probably contributed most directly to the present attack were Ward and Cooley. Factual data showing the inadequacy of the old piecemeal attack had been accumulating since 1914 in the work of Healy, Shaw, Thrasher, and others. Shaw's area projects in Chicago and the coordinating council movement were definite advances toward new methods. Long before the vice-chairman of the Michigan Crime Commission, State Senator Herbert P. Orr, came to the University in 1934 for aid in drafting a plan to aid schools and courts in delinquency cases, sociologists and social workers had realized that neither the finest playground program, the most excellent school system, the finest juvenile court, the most wonderful mental hygiene program, the most thoroughgoing plan of social action— no one of these alone was enough. The only possible hope visible in the light of existing scientific and technological knowledge

[1] Official mileage Ann Arbor to Ironwood (in extreme western end of the Upper Peninsula), 638 miles. Ann Arbor to Washington, D. C., 559.

was to mobilize *all* existing knowledge and techniques in a total-front attack. But up to that time it had never been done. Striking demonstrations of this technique or that had been given. Shaw's projects and the coordinating councils had gone further and approached complete mobilization. But no institute, clinic, or council had ever deliberately been set up to do the whole job from scientific fact-finding to social organization. And the results showed it. At the end of the fourth decade of the twentieth century the fact stared social engineers in the face that *nowhere in the United States was there an area in which everything that men knew about the control of juvenile behavior had been mobilized for all the people at full level of efficiency and volume.* There was still no one area in which one could find schools operating at "best practice," playgrounds at "best practice," police at "best practice,"² juvenile courts at "best practice," family case work agencies at "best practice," behavior clinics at "best practice," probation at "best practice," leading churches at "best practice" for young people, group work agencies at "best practice," coordinating councils at "best practice," community research at "best practice," initiative and planning at "best practice," leadership information at "best practice," and the medical profession and the comfortable families of the community likewise interested, alert, and active. Nowhere in the United States were *all* of these control forces carrying on at the same time in the same community at "best practice." It was to begin to drive toward that objective that Senator Orr appealed to the University of Michigan in 1934.

Many influences had more or less unconsciously been working in the same direction for many years in Michigan. Michigan State College had been active in organizing rural communities. Faculty members in that institution had been instrumental in organizing a League for Youth Service during the early days of the depression. Early in the 1930's G. Robert Koopman, at that time principal of the Tappan School, Ann Arbor, later assistant state superintendent of public instruction, had initiated a movement in that city to study the needs of young people. Almost at the same time, out of different interests, President Alexander G. Ruthven of the University had begun to direct the attention of his educational and sociological faculties to the need of studying the

adjustment possibilities of the University Fresh Air Camp at Patterson Lake. Out of Dr. Ruthven's searchings came the Treatment Planning Committee which functioned for three years as a coordinating council in Ann Arbor. Again, out of Dr. Ruthven's interests came a privately supported Delinquency Prevention Information Service which was set up in the University in 1934. This information service carried on an educational campaign by means of lectures, radio addresses, and by the publication of a monthly bulletin known as the *Delinquency News Letter*. This published statistical data on delinquency by counties, facts on delinquency research, information on recent literature in the field and information on methods of treatment. It was aimed particularly at public officials and community leaders in the state and with the cooperation of the State Department of Public Instruction and the State Corrections Commission presently had a mailing list of more than 10,000. Newspapers throughout the state gave generously of their space to the delinquency prevention movement. Certain editors even made it a major objective of their own. Prominent among these were the editors of the *Detroit News*, the *Jackson Citizen Patriot*, and the *Monroe Evening News*. Radio station WWJ, the *Detroit News*, sponsored a program, "The Causes of Crime," which, with the cooperation of the Wayne County Juvenile Court, the Detroit Police Department, the Detroit Public Schools, and the Detroit social agencies, ran for fifty-six weeks. WWJ also organized two state conferences, out of one of which came a state-wide organization, the Delinquency Prevention Council of Michigan, which set out to mobilize public opinion and active leadership all over the state to support constructive programs for delinquency prevention.

Meanwhile, with the collaboration of members of the University of Michigan faculty, Senator Orr's plan had been drawn up in the form of a bill which was introduced in the 1935 legislature. It failed to get out of committee. But in 1937 essentially the same bill was reintroduced and passed, creating the Michigan Child Guidance Institute.

ORGANIZATION OF THE INSTITUTE

After the signing of the Palmer-Flynn-David M. Martin Bill by Governor Murphy in the summer of 1937, the Regents adopted a

plan of organization for the Institute as drafted by a committee headed by Vice-President Clarence S. Yoakum of the University. The director was appointed November 1, 1937. The arrival of the psychologist, Dr. Nils Y. Wessel, later dean of men at Tufts College, and Dr. Paul Jordan, psychiatrist, in the spring of 1938 completed the Institute's small staff.

The plan of organization provided that the Institute should be managed by an executive committee and the director with a staff consisting of a full-time psychiatrist who was also to function as a member of the Neuropsychiatric Institute of the University Hospital; a field unit to make preliminary examinations in local communities; one field sociologist to assist in community coordination; and one full-time research man to carry on community studies. The field unit consisted of one psychologist and two psychiatric case workers. A psychiatric case worker was later provided for in the office to handle cases referred directly to the Institute in Ann Arbor and to follow up on certain other cases in the field. There was also a secretary, and stenographic and clerical assistants. During the first two years the Institute maintained two graduate research assistantships and later one.

An extremely important element in the organization was an Advisory Committee, consisting of representatives of various state departments and agencies interested in the behavior-adjustment field in Michigan. Beginning at first with a small group most immediately concerned with the Institute, this committee was later enlarged to include the representatives of more than twenty-eight different state departments, state organizations of public officers, and private foundations. While technically merely advisory to the director, this committee eventually functioned as the nucleus of a state coordinating council.

INSTITUTE FUNCTIONS

To carry out the threefold commission given it by the legislature, four functions were recognized as essential. *First, it was necessary to conduct research in the juvenile delinquency field—* not only the study of the cases referred to the Institute, but also the study of the community conditions underlying the maladjustments themselves. *Second, it was recognized that in order to fulfill its essentially educational function, the Institute, as part of its*

*social-action activity, must maintain an information service simi-
lar to that which Dr. Ruthven had established in the University
in the delinquency field in 1934.* Therefore, the publication of
the *Delinquency News Letter* became a regular feature of the
Institute. *Third, it was recognized that to coordinate the activi-
ties of public and private agencies as required by law, the Insti-
tute must supply consultation service on community organization
to community leaders anywhere in the state. And fourth, in order
to fulfill the requirements of the law relative to research and its
commission to recommend improvements in methods of treat-
ment, the Institute must provide clinical case service for malad-
justed children.*

It was required by law to accept up to the limit of its facilities
any child under the age of twenty-one referred for behavior
problems by any parent, teacher, probate judge, or other re-
sponsible person from anywhere in the state. The state provided
funds, however, only for the expert services to be given to these
children. It did not provide any money for transporting them to
Ann Arbor or for maintaining them while they were in Ann
Arbor. But to carry out the direct mandate to recommend im-
provements in methods of treatment it was immediately recog-
nized that the Institute must go beyond such clinical services in
Ann Arbor. More than 600 behavior clinics were providing such
services already in the United States and it was a definite func-
tion of the Institute under the law, therefore, to go beyond such
service. Therefore, it was necessary to organize a field unit and
to take the examination of cases and the discussion of cases *out
into the communities themselves.* In other words, in addition to
handling cases on direct referral to Ann Arbor, the Institute
organized itself to go out into a selected number of communities
and develop new methods of study and treatment. *It was this
full case study service, in addition to the mobilization of all tech-
niques under one organization, which constituted the distinctive
contribution of the Institute in this field.*

HOW DID THIS INSTITUTE DIFFER FROM ANY OTHER INSTITUTE OR CLINIC?

The Michigan Child Guidance Institute was distinctive in at
least four ways: (1) It was set up as part of a state educational

institution with a distinctly scientific and technological emphasis. It was not set up as part of a mental hygiene program or state hospital clinical service. Such programs and service were considered to be distinct and essentially different in character and function. (2) The Institute sought to accomplish its purposes mainly through education by studying communities and cases; by disseminating information; by assisting courts and schools toward best practice; by assisting community leaders; by training students. (3) The Institute represented a unique combination, as we have already pointed out, of scientific research, technical service, social action, and social organization. Unlike any other agency the Institute was set up definitely to mobilize, first in selected areas and ultimately in the whole state, all the objective and preventive techniques known to modern science, to clinical practice, to experts in social action and to experts in community organization. (4) The final distinctive characteristic was that its program was worked out to function *with,* not in place of, local community leaders and local agencies. In other words, as part of its commission to develop improved methods of treatment. the Institute set itself to improve the relationship between the scientific and clinical experts, on the one hand, and the practical man in the field, on the other. In the selected areas in which its full educational program was actually put into effect, local people selected the cases, local physicians gave the preliminary medical examinations and were paid by local people. Local physicians, teachers, probation officers, case workers, recreation workers carried the responsibility for follow-up, with the Institute always available for advice and technical assistance but responsibility definitely in the local community. Local leaders organized local cooperation. No area was eligible for full service in this sense until the local juvenile court had accepted the program, and until the schools, local social workers, and organized medicine in the county had agreed to work together with the court in cooperation with the Institute. In short, the Institute proceeded on the assumption that both to carry out its fundamental purpose of education and to develop new methods of treatment it was essential to help local communities rise to their own responsibilities. In a fundamental sense, therefore, the Institute attempted to make a contribution to the unsolved problem of the relation between the expert and democratic methods.

THE CUTTING EDGE OF EDUCATION AND PREVENTION—
HANDLING CASES

How did cases reach the Institute and what was done with them? We have already indicated that they reached it in two principal ways: by direct referral from any responsible person in the state and by selection by a locally organized committee in certain selected counties. Cases sent direct to Ann Arbor were designated Direct Referral Cases. Cases selected for examination by the field unit in selected counties were Full Study Cases.

Direct Referrals.—Any responsible person in the state desiring the services of the Institute for any maladjusted child under twenty-one communicates with the director. In return, the referring party or agency receives an application blank, a physician's examination blank, a social history blank, and a blank for the legally required consent of the parent or guardian to permit the child's examination. When these blanks have been properly filled out and returned to the Institute, a date is fixed for the child to be sent to Ann Arbor. His stay in Ann Arbor may be limited to as little as three days or it may be extended to thirty days, depending on the seriousness of the case and the agreement with the referring individual or agency. In either event, the child is given a complete psychological examination by the Psychological Clinic of the Rackham Institute for Human Adjustment, a branch of the University cooperating with the Institute. A series of interviews is arranged with the Institute psychiatrist to determine the child's emotional condition. When the medical, the social, the psychological, and the psychiatric data are all available, the case is discussed in full staff conference and recommendations are drafted. These recommendations are always aimed at four aspects of the child's adjustment situation: (1) medical recommendations to improve his physical condition; (2) family recommendations to improve his social adjustment in the family; (3) educational recommendations directed to the school to improve his class placement, instructional practices in reading, arithmetic, or any other field in which he may be finding difficulty; and finally (4) recommendations concerning his community situation. For direct referral cases these recommendations are written out in simple language and sent back to the referring individual or

agency. A psychiatric social worker interprets the case to parents or the referring agency in cases near Ann Arbor. Legally and theoretically the Institute's responsibility ends here. In other words, for Direct Referral Cases the Institute functions mainly as a diagnostic agency. But actually for many cases within easy driving distance of Ann Arbor the Institute maintains a certain follow-up service through one of its psychiatric social workers. At intervals of from four to twelve months a check-up is made of progress in each case—the percentage of recommendations executed, the adjustment status of the child, etc. So much for Direct Referral Cases.

Full Study Cases.—For Full Study Cases the procedure is somewhat different and the end results are very considerably different. In the first place, full study service is not extended to a county until the leaders in that county agree to match the state's investment in their county—the Institute's service—with their own time, effort, and money. They must organize themselves to cooperate in a definite and specific way and agree to follow up the cases studied. When this understanding and organization have been reached—and it was reached in the first two years of the Institute's existence in four counties very definitely and in a fifth to some degree—the necessary application blanks, physicians' blanks, social history blanks and parental consent blanks are sent *to the committee chairman* in the cooperating county. The chairman, in turn, arranges to have the juvenile court judge and the school superintendents in various parts of his county indicate what cases are considered in need of treatment. A selection is then made of approximately eight to twelve cases and the necessary blanks are filled out. These blanks are sent to Ann Arbor, the cases are accepted, and arrangements are made for the field unit to go into the county at a definite future date, to remain usually two to three weeks.

When the time comes, the psychiatric social workers make out their own professional case histories. The purpose of the preliminary case history which local people are asked to make out in these Full Study Cases is merely to bring the teacher or the social worker or the probation officer in closer contact with the family situation. It does not in any case serve as a substitute for a professionally prepared case history: During the preparation by the

social workers of the professional case history, or shortly after-
ward, the Institute psychologist arrives in the county to begin the
psychological examination of the selected cases. These examina-
tions take place in school·buildings, never in the juvenile court,
the detention home, or a hospital. The child is given at least two
standard mental tests, is tested for sensory perception, motor co-
ordination, and perhaps certain aptitudes, and is given at least
two long interviews by the psychologist to obtain evidence on the
child's emotional condition. When the group of eight or twelve
cases have been examined in this way, the data are brought back
to Ann Arbor and discussed in staff conference with the psy-
chiatrist and all members of the staff. In simple language the
significance of the facts is interpreted, the probable outcome of
the existing trends is indicated as clearly as possible, and recom-
mendations are drafted in the same form as for the Direct
Referral Cases, namely, recommendations having to do with
medical treatment, recommendations for the family situation, for
the school situation, and for the child's community situation.

But at this point the similarity of treatment ends, for instead of
merely sending these recommendations back to the referring indi-
viduals or agencies, the Institute sends at least two members of
its staff back to interpret the cases to the parents and to discuss
specific plans for carrying the recommendations into effect with
the school and other authorities who may be interested in the
specific case. Permission to discuss these matters with the school
officials and others interested in the child is always obtained in
writing from the parents beforehand. There is then held what is
called a Treatment Planning Conference. The facts are laid
before the local people who are most immediately concerned
with each case, usually a very small group—who, of course, are
working in a thoroughly confidential relationship with regard to
that case—and specific plans are discussed for executing each
recommendation. Out of the Treatment Planning Conference for
every recommendation comes a specific allocation of responsi-
bility for executing each recommendation. This is in writing and
the Local Adjustment Committee which is set up for handling the
case receives copies. Within four to twelve months the Institute's
staff checks back on the execution of these recommendations. If
anything should develop in the meantime, any new crisis or new

development affecting the execution of the recommendations, the Institute is available and expects to be called upon for further advice and assistance. While its workers do not directly attempt to give treatment, they are constantly on the alert to *initiate*, to *stimulate*, and to *supervise* treatment in each case handled as the progress report in the case of Henry Tesp shows.

A Case of Home and School Maladjustment

To illustrate the handling of a full study case, the case of Henry Tesp is included. Needless to say, the name is fictitious, other names have been omitted, and certain minor details have been altered to conceal the identity of the case. With the corrections noted, however, the records are presented exactly as they stand in the Institute's files.[2] See Appendix B.

Henry was referred by the school authorities because of untruthfulness, stealing, truancy, and general incorrigibility. Although of superior mentality, the boy was retarded in school and was suffering from obvious emotional tensions set up by the home situation. After carrying out the course of treatment detailed in the case record, a progress report six months later showed definite signs of improvement in Henry's behavior. In fact, one infers that there was actually more improvement in Henry's behavior than in that of his parents, although there too something seems to have been accomplished. Naturally six months is too short a time in which to evaluate the full effect of treatment in this case.

Appraising Execution of Recommendations

At the end of several months Henry Tesp was still in need of help. The readjustment of deviant behavior is a matter that usually requires time—time to carry out recommendations and time for the execution of recommendations to become effective.

During the summer of 1939 the Institute staff reappraised 151 Full Study Cases that had been handled in four counties. Two of these counties, Oakland and Monroe, had been fully organized for cooperation; one, Clinton, had been partially organized; and one, Shiawassee, had not been organized at all. Three hundred

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[2] Case record adapted by Dr. Paul Jordan, psychiatrist, and head of clinical service, Michigan Child Guidance Institute, to whose courtesy I am indebted for its inclusion here.

seventy-five recommendations had been made in those 151 cases
which had been examined from one to fifteen months before re-
appraisal. Disregarding for the moment the various elements of
time, local organization, and resources, we observe that *219, or
58.4 per cent, of all recommendations had been executed up to
the time of the reappraisals.* This compares with the 43.7-per-cent
execution of recommendations reported by the Gluecks for the
agencies cooperating with the Judge Baker Foundation clinic in
the early 1920's.[3]

The best-organized Michigan county, Oakland, averaged 64.7-
per-cent execution of recommendations on all cases regardless of
time; the unorganized county, Shiawassee, averaged 29 per cent.
Part of the difference may have been due to differences in re-
sources as between the two counties, but the Institute staff was
convinced that most of it by far was due to the more efficient local
organization in Oakland County.

In Michigan as in other states available resources for the treat-
ment of maladjusted children are nearly everywhere inadequate.
The inadequacy is more marked in rural counties like Clinton or
Shiawassee than in industrial counties like Oakland, but it is
present everywhere. This points to the urgent need of *educating*
community leadership to its own deficiencies—the definite objec-
tive of the Institute's full-study clinical program.

The relation of time to the execution of recommendations
appears clearly in the fact that on the average in well-organized
counties execution rose about 2 per cent a month for at least one
year after the treatment planning conferences. With time and
local organization both at the optimum, i.e., in forty-six cases
handled from twelve to fifteen months before reappraisal in the
two fully organized counties, execution of recommendations aver-
aged 67 per cent in one county and 70 per cent in the other. This
amounted to 53 to 60 per cent *higher* percentage of recommen-
dations executed than the Judge Baker clinic was obtaining in
the early 1920's.

WHAT DOES IT ACCOMPLISH?

What did the execution of recommendations accomplish?
No answer to that on the basis of a few cases treated for a few

[3] Cf. *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents,* Cambridge, 1934, p. 125.

MICHIGAN CHILD GUIDANCE INSTITUTE

Disposition of 375 Recommendations in 151 Cases in Four Counties
Handled 1 to 15 Months Before Reappraisal

No. Cases	County	Total Recommendations	Executed as Given	Executed with Modifications	Total Executed	Total Not Executed	Percentage Executed
76	Oakland (fully organized.. ..	187	82	39	121	66	64.7
45	Monroe (fully organized)......	115	52	16	68	47	59.1
20	Clinton (partially organized)....	42	13	8	21	21	50.0
10	Shiawassee (not organized)....	31	5	4	9	22	29.0
151	Totals..........	375	152	67	219	156	5̈.4

months can be more than tentative. But as the accompanying
tables show, 55 per cent of the Oakland County cases and 69 per
cent of the Monroe cases that had been under treatment for a
year or more either were well adjusted or had improved. Nine-
teen per cent in one county and 23 in the other remained un-
changed, while 15 per cent in Oakland County and 8 per cent in
Monroe either had become more badly maladjusted than before
treatment or had been institutionalized. Institutionalization had
been among the original recommendations of the Institute clinic
in several of these cases.

On the whole, the Institute's clinical program seemed to be
showing results *over and above and apart from its educational
values for the leaders of the counties in which it was carried on.*
These educational values seemed to be significant in them-
selves. But unfortunately they could be appraised only in terms
of *increased interest in the service; greater understanding by
teachers and court workers of the problems of their maladjusted
children; the falling age of the children referred, indicating
earlier discovery; smoother cooperation among local agencies;
definite efforts to supplement the Institute's services with special
workers in local communities; testimony by local leaders before*

Execution of Recommendations in *Fully Organized* Counties in Terms of Types and Time

Type of Recommendation	12-15 Months Under Treatment				6-10 Months Under Treatment				3-5 Months Under Treatment			
	Oakland (24 cases) Percentage		Monroe (22 cases) Percentage		Oakland (23 cases) Percentage		Monroe (8 cases) Percentage		Oakland (24 cases) Percentage		Monroe (14 cases) Percentage	
	Ex.	Not Ex.	Ex.	Not Ex.	Ex.	Not Ex.	Ex.	Not Ex.	Ex.	Not Ex.	Ex.	Not Ex.
Medical	25	75	44	56	50	50	33	67	41	59	7	93
Home	86	14	94	6	83	17	67	33	57	43	69	31
School	93	7	62.5	37.5	87	13	100	0	70	30	70	30
Community	62.5	37.5	56	44	50	50	33	67	50	50	55	45
Totals	70	30	67	33	69	31	59	41	52	48	49	51

Degree of Adjustment   3 Cases, 6 to 15 Months under Treat
Well-org. and Partially-organized Counties

Adjustment	12-15 Months				6-11 Months								Totals 3 Counties		Totals Well-Organized Counties	
	Oakland		Monroe		Oakland		Monroe		Clinton[a]							
	No. Cases	%	No. Cases	%	No. Cases	%	No. Cases	%	No. Cases	%			No. Cases	%	No. Cases	%
Well adjusted	3	11	5		2	8	1	12.5	0	0			11	11.8	11	13.4
Improved generally	9	33	5		5	20	1	12.5	1	9			21	22.6	20	24.4
Improved in some ways	3	11	5		6	24	0	0	3	27			17	18.3	14	17.0
No change	5	19	2		8	32	6	75	7	64			31	33.3	24	29.3
Increased maladjustment	1	4	0		2	8	0	0	0	0			3	5	5	6.1
Institutionalized	3	11	0		0	0	0	0	0	0			5	3.2	3	3.7
No report	3	11			2	8	0	0	0	0			5	5.4	5	6.1
Totals	27	100	22		25	100	8	100.0	11	100			93	100.0	82	100.0

[a] Partially organized.

legislative committees supporting the Institute; and increased effort on the part of local leaders to attack the family and neighborhood conditions that underlay their maladjusted cases.

All this indicated progress, not only in preventing delinquency among the 500 or more children examined by the Institute, but especially in sensitizing local leaders to the problem and in stimulating social action.

Meanwhile other aspects of the entire educational effort deserve attention.

THE RESEARCH PROGRAM

To discover causes of delinquency and to improve methods of treatment, research must obviously be carried on in particular cases, in neighborhood and community conditions, and in methods of treatment.

Case Research.—The 600 case records accumulated by the Institute during its first two and a half years constituted a body of source material for understanding personality and social factors in the maladjustment of individuals. One of the objectives was to analyze this material to determine the relationship of certain family situations, constitutional factors, traumatic experiences, and other variables.

Community Research.—During the first year of existence the Institute carried on an intensive study of the social backgrounds of child maladjustments in the most typical agricultural county that it could find in lower Michigan. At the conclusion of this study the Institute began a study of methods of improving the behavior adjustment of maladjusted families in an underprivileged area in a small industrial city. Underlying each of these projects was the theory that it is good methodology to begin the study of a complicated problem at its simplest rather than at its most complex. Practically, it was also felt that the Institute as a state agency could be of more service to the state in underserviced areas than in more adequately serviced areas, like Detroit.

Research in Methods of Improving Treatment.—Although under the law the Institute was given broad enough powers to enable it to make studies of procedures in state correctional institutions, it was felt that the greatest contribution could be made

if emphasis were placed on methods of prevention rather than on methods of ultimate treatment. For this reason, the study of methods of improving treatment turned toward the Institute's experience in organizing treatment planning conferences and in assisting community leaders in the organization of community agencies and community coordinating councils. As a step in this direction, an instrument was developed for sensitizing community leaders to the deficiencies of their own communities in the delinquency-control field. This is the Carr Delinquency Prevention Rating Form referred to in Chapter XII. See Appendix A.

Research in methods of improving treatment has also been greatly facilitated by the close cooperation of the University Fresh Air Camp at Patterson Lake, twenty-six miles from Ann Arbor. This is a privately supported summer camp for underprivileged boys, which throughout its existence since 1924 has been controlled by a committee of university faculty members headed by Professor F. N. Menefee of the College of Engineering. After 1932 when the president of the university, Dr. Alexander G. Ruthven, began to urge a shift from the old charity camp idea to a behavior-adjustment function, the Fresh Air Camp under the immediate directorship of Mr. George Alder, later director of the Brightmoor Community Center, Detroit, gradually developed one of the most progressive camping programs in the United States. In 1935-36-37 it cooperated in a University research study, The Ann Arbor Boys' Guidance Project, which undertook to mobilize the readjustive techniques available in and near the community for the benefit of 87 selected problem boys and to measure the results against a comparison group of 100 similar youngsters left untreated.[4] In 1939 the Fresh Air Camp cooperated with the Institute in the treatment of 40 maladjusted boys for periods of from four to eight weeks each, and in 1940 it treated 38.

SOCIAL ACTION

The main instrumentalities for social action which the Institute has utilized consist of the *Delinquency News Letter*, lectures and broadcasts, and various efforts to enlist and aid the activities

[4] See Carr, Valentine and Levy, *Integrating the Camp, the Community and Social Work*, New York, 1939.

of other public and private organizations, such as the American Legion, the Delinquency Prevention Council of Michigan, and a special group of leading clergymen, who undertook an experimental study of the functions of churches in delinquency control. A sample copy of the *Delinquency News Letter* is included in Appendix C to suggest the nature of the publicity sent out each month to more than 10,000 leaders in the state.[5]

THE INSTITUTE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Institute itself is an example of social organization crystallizing the results of social action. The long agitation in Michigan for improvement of facilities and methods of treatment for juvenile delinquents found one expression in the creation of the Institute.

But, since the solution of any social problem by means of the scientific-technological problem-solving pattern involves social organization as the last step, the Institute in applying that pattern obviously strives to crystallize the results of its own social action and the social action of other groups cooperating with it in the form of social organization. This ranges all the way from community coordinating councils to its own Advisory Committee which functions as the nucleus of a state coordinating committee. It is, of course, the Institute's objective not to form local organizations of its own, but rather to stimulate local communities to organize themselves, and to stimulate state organizations' more effective cooperation.

From this point of view the Institute has no pet remedies and it has no exclusive designs on any field of action. In other words, every state agency and every private agency working in the field of delinquency treatment and prevention is to be encouraged and strengthened. At the same time, it would obviously be unfortunate if any state or private agency undertook to build up its own partial program *at the expense of a more complete program.* This brings us to a final phase of our subject, namely, the evidences of individual, community, and state reactions to social action in this field.

[5] In 1940 by the advice of the Advisory Committee the name of the *Delinquency News Letter* was changed to *the Monthly News Letter of the Michigan Child Guidance Institute.*

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN A NEW ELEMENT IS INJECTED INTO AN EXISTING ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERN?

The setting up of the Institute injected a new element into the organizational pattern in Michigan in the delinquency-control field. Immediately the new factor became an object of suspicion and attack. The Institute was accused of trying to usurp some of the functions of certain state agencies and various private clinics. The conservative-minded felt that it was an intrusion by the University which had been made the recipient of the legislature's commission to do research and coordination in this field.

On the other hand, the new plan received the backing of the State Crime Commission, which had largely sponsored it, and of the State Department of Public Instruction, and most of the school men of the state. The American Legion recognized the Institute's program as directly in line with its own and backed it to the limit. Many of the women's clubs, a number of influential newspapers, and public and private officials in the counties in which the Institute worked became its firm friends. Many of the probate judges supported it.

It is interesting to note at this point the significance of names, concepts, and feelings attached to names. Perhaps because of the inclusiveness of the name given to the new institution, namely, the *Child Guidance Institute,* many sincere people felt that the prerogatives of other state and private child guidance services had been infringed upon.

Whether the influence of the vice-chairman of the State Crime Commission, State Senator Orr, had induced the legislature to act before the leaders in the delinquency-prevention field were ready for a program so comprehensive was a matter which remained undecided for several years after the creation of the Institute.

Brief as its existence had been, the Institute had already brought clearly into the foreground two outstanding needs of the state:

1. *The need for an absolute increase in the total amount of psychiatric service for children in the state.*

2. *The need for an absolute increase in the amount and efficiency of community cooperation to remove the social causes of child maladjustment.*   o

It was the Institute's constant insistence on *both* of these needs
and never merely on one alone that distinguished its program
from any other. More scientific assistance for maladjusted indi-
viduals and more scientific organization of communities to pre-
vent individual maladjustments—*these two together offered hope*
of progress. Either alone did not.

CHILD GUIDANCE AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

With the approach of a national emergency in 1940 and the
rising need for defense, the Institute assumed a new rôle—its
experience in community coordination and organization now be-
came a possible asset in the state defense program. The director,
having been one of the authors of a report to Governor Dickin-
son in June urging the setting up of a state defense administra-
tion and the organization of citizens' defense councils to mobilize
leadership throughout the state, was named as one of the mem-
bers of the Michigan National Defense Council of twenty-eight.[6]
The Institute staff later participated in the educational and or-
ganizing activities of the defense program. As the *News Letter*
explained in its June issue, "child guidance is not merely some-
thing you do to a few maladjusted children, and stop there. It
involves doing something for all children—organizing community
life to protect childhood. In a national emergency it involves the
organization of community life to protect the American way of
life itself."

SUMMARY OF PART V

We have now covered the last phase of the scientific-techno-
logical pattern of delinquency control, namely, social organiza-
tion.

Social organization gives permanence to the results of social
action which in turn brings into use specialized techniques based
on scientific research. Social organization, in other words, is the
cap-stone of the arch, the culmination of the pattern. Yet it may
also be used as a tool of action and the two functions should be
carefully distinguished.

Culture provides a certain complement of agencies or organiza-

[6] Co-author of the report was Lieutenant Harold Mulbar of the Michigan
State Police.

tions, but since specialties have tended to integrate vertically, co-ordination of separate organizations is needed in each community and in each state. We have distinguished four levels on which this coordination proceeds. And on the level of coordinating specific activities for delinquency control, the coordinating council has emerged since 1919 as a useful device widely diffused by 1940 in more than twenty-three states. How coordinating councils are organized and how they operate was illustrated from Kenneth Beam's study.

Another aspect of social organization is the rôle of government, particularly the state government, in delinquency control. Governmental functions have been expanding for more than a century to meet expanding social needs. Four definite areas were pointed out in which government can be of invaluable assistance: in strengthening existing protections; in coordinating existing agencies; in raising standards; and in providing more special services beyond the resources of separate localities.

One of the most important agencies of government in the field of delinquency control is the public school. The public school operates under the pressure of many variables, from tradition to the state of the nation, but the forces of social change are insistently driving the schools to assume a greater and greater rôle in delinquency control. Many difficult problems face the public schools, but the problem of the maladjusted child is prominent among them. Schools are being called upon for nine types of service to meet this problem: discovery of problem cases; preliminary diagnosis, prescription, and treatment; enrichment of curriculum and individualization of instruction; more provision for the leisure time activities of the entire community, in short, the community school; instruction in mental hygiene, not only to children but to parents; fact-finding for the local community; dissemination of facts; local leadership in the child welfare field.

Another great organization looked to for help in this field is the church. Yet many churches have been under fire because of other-worldliness, their preoccupation with adults, their failure to come to terms with modern science, their lack of contact with young people, especially in the poorer districts; the failure of great numbers even of church members to participate actively in their work. Michigan churchmen have begun to face the problem

and a state conference has made certain specific suggestions to rural churches, churches in medium-sized cities, and churches in metropolitan areas. The layman would supplement these with suggestions looking toward the more realistic adjustment of church people to the actual life around them. After all, individuals, not churches, act.

As a final type of social organization in this field, we have described the Michigan Child Guidance Institute which was created by act of the legislature in 1937. Set up to study causes, to improve techniques, and to coordinate public and private agencies, i.e., to carry on social action and encourage organization, the Institute is based squarely on the theory developed in this book that non-political problems may be solved most effectively by carrying through four phases of activity: scientific, technological, actional, and organizational.

Primarily the Institute is an educational enterprise, seeking to control the problem by educating the leaders of Michigan to *appreciate* the problem, to *grasp* the conditions which must be met for its solution, and to *act* constructively to meet those conditions. To this one end, education, it is carrying clinical service for maladjusted children into selected communities; is pushing community and case research; is carrying on a campaign of publicity through the *Delinquency News Letter*; and is assisting communities and state organizations to cooperate more effectively to control the conditions that produce maladjustment.

Less than two years after beginning a unique program of cooperation with local courts and agencies, the Institute was securing a percentage of execution of recommendations that considerably exceeded that of the Judge Baker clinic, as reported by the Gluecks, and in the best organized counties after twelve to fifteen months of treatment reached 67 and 70 per cent.

More than half of the cases treated seemed to be showing marked beneficial results, and there were evidences in the communities served of the educational impact of the Institute's program: there was increased interest in the service and greater understanding by teachers and court workers of the problems of their maladjusted children; children were being referred at an earlier age; local agencies were cooperating more smoothly; local

leaders were making efforts to hire special services to supplement the Institute's work; more efforts were being made to control the family and neighborhood deviation pressures in local communities; and local people had gone out of their way to defend the Institute when it was attacked in the legislature.

All this indicated progress. But the creation of the Institute had disturbed the preexisting organizational pattern of the state in the child welfare field. Older organizations had reacted, and opposition had not been absent. Whether the theory would continue in action beyond its fourth year remained undecided in 1940. Meanwhile a national emergency had revealed a new importance in a broad scientific attack on delinquency control.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What purposes were set before the Michigan Child Guidance Institute in the law creating it?
2. Explain in what way the Institute is the "theory of this book in action."
3. In what way are the theories of Ward and Cooley related to the theory underlying the Institute?
4. What influences led up to the passage of the Palmer-Flynn-David M. Martin Bill?
5. Who was mainly responsible for setting up the Institute?
6. What is the form of the Institute's organization?
7. What is the function of the Advisory Committee?
8. What are the four main functions of the Institute?
9. What is its fundamental objective?
10. In what ways may it be distinguished from other similar institutions?
11. Explain the difference in purpose underlying the differences in procedure in Direct Referral Cases as compared with Full Study Cases?
12. What types of information must be assembled on every case?
13. What are the main problem areas in each case at which recommendations are aimed?
14. Why hold a treatment planning conference? What was its value in the Tesp case?
15. What percentage of execution of recommendations did the Institute obtain in its first two years?
16. How does this percentage compare with the percentage obtained by the Judge Baker clinic?

17. What are the most important variables in securing execution of recommendations?

18. What is the evidence that execution of recommendations accomplished anything in the adjustment of cases?

19. What evidence is cited to indicate that the Institute's clinical program was having an *educational* effect in the communities most intensively served?

20. What types of research have been included in the Institute's scientific program?

21. How does the Institute function in the social-action phase of its activity?

22. Analyze the *News Letter* as an organ of educational propaganda.

*   *   *

ANOTHER WAR CASUALTY

The Michigan Child Guidance Institute was formally abolished by act of the legislature July 1, 1943, on the recommendation of its director. War had brought a realignment of forces in·the child guidance field, the Institute's best friends among civic groups were now more concerned with possible air raids than with the impending rise in delinquency, and the election of Governor Kelly, vitally interested in delinquency himself, insured the further development of a prevention program. To replace the Institute, the state increased the number of child guidance clinics under the State Hospital Commission to nine, appropriated over $200,000 to start a state-wide installation of visiting teachers, and established the Michigan Youth Guidance Commission to provide centralized leadership for local prevention programs. Only research suffered. The absence of any provision for the continuing *scientific study of the delinquency problem in Michigan remained the* outstanding weakness in the state set-up after the abolition of the Institute. Beyond the 1100 case records remaining at the University of Michigan for further analysis, the Institute was responsible for two definite contributions in the scientific field: *Economic Factors in Michigan Delinquency* by Paul Wiers, Columbia University Press, New York, 1944; and *Fundamental Patterns of Maladjustment—the Dynamics of their Origin* by Lester Eugene Hewitt and Richard L. Jenkins, M.D., former Institute psychiatrist, published by the State of Illinois, 1946.

Appendix A

CARR
DELINQUENCY PREVENTION
RATING FORM

Preliminary Draft

OCTOBER 1938

HOW TO USE THIS RATING FORM

Purpose and Limitations

This Rating Form is intended to enable community leaders who are not necessarily experts in social work or community organization to form for themselves in a few hours an approximate picture of the ranking of their own community's facilities for juvenile delinquency control against a background of "best practice" in the United States.

It is not a survey of local agencies.

It is not an evaluation of agency programs.

It is a highly condensed *description* of community facilities at different levels of completeness from zero to "best practice."

It has been prepared with the advice of more than 20 cooperating psychiatrists, social workers, correctional workers, and sociologists from Connecticut to California, but it is not yet a finished instrument. In no sense can the ratings obtainable with this Rating Form be called scientific. No attempt has yet been made to equalize the weighting of the different scales in the final score—"Coordination of Agencies," for example, carries several times the weight of any other single rating. Furthermore the various scales have not yet been divided into equal distances as demanded by modern rating-scale technique. In Scale 9, for example, there is no assurance that Point 1 is the same "psychological distance" from Point 2 as Point 2 is from Point 3. These are matters that will require months of work to rectify.

Yet the Rating Form even in its present tentative shape may have some practical usefulness at once. If it is not yet an accurate *measure* of community differences, it may still be used as an *indicator* of such differences.

For the purpose, therefore, of assisting in visualizing the problem of delinquency control and to obtain practical criticisms from the field, the Michigan Child Guidance Institute is making a limited number of these forms available.

What to Do

1 Do not try to rate your community's delinquency-control facilities "out of your head." With all due respect to you, the chances are better than 9 to 1 that you simply don't know enough.

2. Begin by asking questions.

3 Ask the men who know—the men who are closest to the agencies or institutions that you are trying to rate.

4 Don't ask them whether their agencies are doing a good job or a poor job, but get them to check off, scale by scale, the facilities that actually exist. Thus, on Scale No. 1 does your school system use any special techniques for the discovery of problem cases (Score 3) or doesn't it? (Score 0 to 2). If it does, what techniques are used? And so on, through Scale No. 22.

5 Make a game out of it: Get your friends to rate their own agencies and then compare ratings—and *find out why they differ.*

6. Remember, you are not passing judgment on any agency or institution. Facilities are what they are for many different reasons—and *your own unawareness of how your community stands as compared with other communities may be one of the reasons.* What you are after is the facts.

7 If you live in a large city, or if you are accustomed to dealing mainly with individual cases, you may find it difficult to think of all the sectional variations in the facilities of each agency or institution as reducible to one score. The simplest way to meet this is to rate such agencies or institutions area by area (or even building by building) and then strike an average of all your partial ratings to get an average for the city.

8. After you have checked Your Town on each of the 22 separate scales, transfer the checks to the Tabulating Chart on pages 7 and 9. (Method of Scoring illustrated on page 5).

9 Sum up your ratings under each sub-head (Roman numerals).

10 Enter the *average score* of each sub-section in the proper column on the Community Profile chart at the top of pages 7 and 9.

11. Draw your Community Profiles.

12 Sum up your total score on the Tabulating Charts.

13. Divide that total score by 88, the "best practice" score.

14. The answer is your community's *Delinquency Prevention Score,* i.e., the percentage which your community rates as compared with "best practice."

15 Analyze the weak spots in your community profile and find out why.

16. Mail the duplicate Face Sheet, page 9, to Michigan Child Guidance Institute, 1027 East Huron, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

CARR DELINQUENCY PREVENTION RATING FORM
PRELIMINARY DRAFT—OCTOBER, 1938
FACE SHEET
Method of Scoring Illustrated

Name of Community   Millville

_____ , (State)

Date of Rating ..   1-1-39

Name of Rater _ _   Richard Roe

Official Position   Supt of Schools

Community Profile

	0	1	2	3	4
I			*		
II		*			
III			*		
IV		*			
V	*				
VI		*			
Av		*			

(Connect stars to get community profile)

Total score   27 _ _ _ _ _
Av per item   1.2 _ _ _ _
Community score   30 6 ... % of
possible 88

TABULATING CHART
RATING

	0	1	2	3	4	Av Sub-heading Score (for community profile)	
I *For dealing with problem cases*						I	17
1 Discovery of problem cases			√				
2 Diagnostic facilities for problem children		√					
3 Who takes responsibility for treatment		√					
4 Case work facilities				√			
II *For dealing with delinquents*						II	14
5 Police activities	√						
6 Detention		√					
7 Juvenile court				√			
8 Basis of treatment			√				
9 Probation		√					
III *For normal children*						III	20
10 Individualization of instruction			√				
11 Community recreation				√			
12 Role of four leading religious denominations		√					
13 Group work							
IV *For increasing agency effectiveness*						IV	10
14 Coordination of agencies		√					
V *For reducing environmental dangers*						V	03
15 Identification of danger factors	√						
16 Reduction of danger factors		√					
17 Initiative and planning	√						
VI *For mobilizing community action*						VI	10
18 Local fact finding		√					
19 Attitude of newspapers				√			
20 Community information service	√						
21 Activities of medical profession	√						
22 Role of Comfortable Families"		√					
A Total check marks in each column	5	9	3	4	0	•	
B Column Scores (total check marks in each column multiplied by number at head of each column)	0	9	6	12	0		
C Total Score (sum of column scores)							

CARR DELINQUENCY PREVENTION RATING FORM
PRELIMINARY DRAFT—OCTOBER, 1938
FACE SHEET

Name of Community ....

Date of Rating ..
Name of Rater
Official Position

Community Profile

	0	1	2	3	4
I					
II					
III					
IV					
V					
VI					
Av					

Total score _____
Av per item _____
Community score _____% of
                          possible 88

TABULATING CHART
RATING

	0	1	2	3	4	Av. Sub-heading Score (for community profile)
I *For dealing with problem cases*						I _____
1 Discovery of problem cases						
2 Diagnostic facilities for problem children						
3 Who takes responsibility for treatment						
4 Case work facilities						
II *For dealing with delinquents*						II. _____
5 Police activities						
6 Detention						
7 Juvenile court						
8 Basis of treatment						
9 Probation						
III *For normal children*						III _____
10 Individualization of instruction						
11 Community recreation						
12 Rôle of four leading religious denominations						
13 Group work						
IV *For increasing agency effectiveness*						IV _____
14 Coordination of agencies						
V *For reducing environmental dangers*						V. _____
15 Identification of danger factors						
16 Reduction of danger factors						
17 Initiative and planning						
VI *For mobilizing community action*						VI. _____
18 Local fact-finding						
19 Attitude of newspapers						
20 Community information service						
21 Activities of medical profession						
22 Rôle of "Comfortable Families"						
A Total check marks in each column						
B. Column Scores (total check marks in each column multiplied by number at head of each column)						
C. Total Score (sum of column scores)						

Discovery of Problem Cases
by (1) Schools, (2) Police, (3) Other Agencies

0	1	2	3	4
We have no problem children." Feel no responsibility. Do not know about discovery techniques. Have never used them here. No record of problem cases in advance. No referrals on problem level before delinquency. No cumulative records on children contacted.	Some subordinates interested. See responsibility in a way. But doing nothing till children become delinquent.	Administrators actively interested. Using common sense techniques as occasion arises. No list or routine of referral in advance of delinquency.	Interested. See responsibility. Know special techniques such as Hagerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating scales, etc. Have used them here, all problem cases listed in executive office but no routine of referral for diagnosis before delinquency.	(a) Executives and subordinates keenly interested in problem of adjustment (guidance) (b) Recognize own responsibility (c) Acquainted with special techniques of discovery (d) Have used them here (e) Cumulative records on all children handled (f) Maladjusted children are commonly referred to medical, psychological, and psychiatric examining services as matter of routine
(1) Schools				
(2) Police				
(3) Other Agencies				
AVERAGE				

2. Diagnostic Facilities for Problem Children

0	1	2	3	4
No expert diagnostic facilities available at any time	Examination obtainable for a few exceptional cases either at parent's expense or by sending case out of town or county. Action depends on unusual initiative of some responsible person. Problem generally not recognized.	*Medical* and *psychological* examinations obtainable at intervals for a few cases in own community. Referral beginning to be expected in schools. No visiting teacher and little social data usually available on home conditions.	*Social, medical, psychological,* and *psychiatric* data obtainable for a few cases at intervals in own community or through visiting teacher. Referral fairly routine—does not require unusual push on teacher's part.	(a) Facilities actually being used whereby many children needing diagnosis for behavior problems are receiving prompt physical, psychological, and psychiatric examination in own community (b) Referral an accepted part of school system, —or so closely integrated with it as to be an accepted part of school routine. (c) Social data available as matter of routine

3. Who Takes Responsibility for Treating Problem Cases?

0	1	2	3	4
Nobody Cases not treated on pre-delinquent level except by accident.	Teachers, guidance counselors, etc, in schools Patient himself outside No plan for treating whole personality or total situation	Volunteer planning committee or similar group (case committee of coordinating council, etc.), police officer, juvenile court, family physician, etc.	Trained social worker, visiting teacher, or expert agency (not a Guidance Clinic)	Child Guidance clinic with trained psychiatric social worker

4. Case Work Facilities

0	1	2	3	4
None	Untrained volunteers	Full-time case workers, training dubious, number inadequate (i e, case Clinic)	Full-time case workers with degrees from reputable schools of social work (or at least 3 years experience in reputable agencies) Number still inadequate (i e, case loads exceed 60)	(a) Full-time case workers with degrees from reputable school of social work (or 3 years experience in reputable agencies) in sufficient numbers to serve all cases at case loads of 60 or less (b) Family case work agency an established part of local facilities

5. Police Activities in Prevention Field

0	1	2	3	4
No provision for special handling of delinquents No special officers for delinquents. No evidence department is aware of problem of crime prevention as distinguished from law enforcement	Special officer or police woman or both, mildly interested in work General attitude of the force indifferent or hostile. Juvenile officer probably not up to average of force in character or ability. Commonly ignored or 'disregarded by other agencies and public. Makes few contacts outside line of duty	Special officer or police woman with some training in field May make occasional talks to clubs as personal activity Has respect of the public and of other officers No case records and cases are not cleared with social service exchange No research being done by anyone on force No organized attempt to educate community in crime prevention	Special officer or police woman with special training Police not regarded as leaders in prevention in city Juvenile officer, however, generally regarded as capable and sincere. Keeps good individual case records Some cooperation with other agencies, especially with social service exchange, but no organized cooperation, (i.e, coordinating council, etc). No research set-up, but individual officers may have collected some data Some attempts at educating public in crime prevention, but no definite program .	(a) Special crime prevention units manned by trained workers (b) Police actively aiding (or leading) other agencies in organized attack utilizing all agencies to full (c) Full individual case records, (d) Mutual cooperation with other agencies organized and matter of routine (e) Influential members of department on record stressing importance of crime prevention work by police (f) Research definitely provided for in systematic way (g) Definite program of community education in crime prevention under way.

6. Detention

0	1	2	3	4
No special facilities at all Children detained with adults in jail, police station, or similar place	Children detained apart from adults but in insanitary, unsafe, or undesirable quarters Staff untrained and general atmosphere one of fear and repression (Children stop activities when superintendent appears, seem strained or uneasy in his presence, etc)	Physical facilities meet minimum requirements for sanitation, safety, security, comfort, etc (Clean have modern conveniences, fireproof, well ventilated, lighted, etc) Personnel without special training Atmosphere of place likely to be cold and formal Delinquents may be held for long terms without provision for special education	Physical facilities exceed minimum Delinquents never held for long terms Personnel may have some social work training Atmosphere one of cheerfulness and confidence (Children obviously "like" superintendent, approach rather than withdraw, etc) Special provisions made for education during detention	(a) Physical facilities above minimum (b) Policy intelligent and sympathetic (c) Personnel trained (d) Detention home functions as diagnostic center for assisting court in reaching an objective understanding of each child's difficulties Each child studied during stay there (*As alternative* court may use specially selected homes as places for detaining some cases **briefly** before hearing Detention and placement never confused)

7. Juvenile Court

0	1	2	3	4
Court not interested in juvenile cases, uncooperative, "old fashioned," unsympathetic, or hostile Hearings public No facilities for collecting full social history on each case and securing psychological and psychiatric data Records incomplete or limited to court orders and dispositions	Court interested but lacks facilities, means well but lacks techniques, moralistic, etc Hearings public, poor records, (i e, no social data on cases) No physical, psychological, or psychiatric examinations in last 25 cases handled Records include only court orders and dispositions	Court mildly interested and cooperative when pushed Private hearings Some social data on cases But court lacks facilities and makes little effort to improve them Physical, psychological, or psychiatric examinations very exceptional (not over 2 in 25) Records include more than court orders and dispositions	Court interested and cooperative Understands basic purpose of law Social data fair to good. Facilities inadequate but judge is trying to agitate or organize for better ones Physical, psychological, and psychiatric examinations occur occasionally (2 to 5 in 25) Clinical facilities not part of court set-up and special effort is necessary to obtain such services Records include more than court orders and dispositions.	(a) Court keenly interested in delinquency prevention (b) Cooperative (c) Shows community initiative (d) Private hearings. (e) Full social data (f) Records include comprehensive narrative case histories (g) Physical, psychological, *and* psychiatric examinations common (over 5 in 25). (h) Clinical facilities part of court or readily available, practically as matter of routine.

8. Basis of Juvenile Court's Determination of Treatment

0	1	2	3	4
Perfunctory reports Only barest outline of information on child's background and family situation	Reports of untrained worker (political appointee, etc). Some details given Expert advice almost never obtainable. In case trained worker prepares full reports, court may not read them or may frequently disregard advice of trained investigator ("frequently" over 50% of time).	Trained social worker's reports based on 5 to 10 hours investigation for each (serious) case Case records give detailed information on child's background and family situation. Court usually gives this evidence careful consideration	Trained worker's report plus occasional expert reports of physicians, psychologists, or psychiatrists when court makes special effort to obtain them Court respects and seeks expert testimony.	(a) Trained worker's report plus report of clinic based on full social, medical, and psychological, and psychiatric data. (b) Obtainable by court as routine or without special effort. (c) Court respects and seeks expert testimony.

9. Probation Service

0	1	2	3	4
None. No supervision No security of tenure	Actual supervision supplied by volunteers or by part-time untrained probation officer No security of tenure	Full-time probation officer untrained, carrying too many cases (over 70 cases) (Or trained worker attached to some other agency, adding probation to other duties) Tenure relatively insecure.	Full-time trained officer (degree or 3 years experience under competent supervision), more than 70 cases per officer Tenure relatively secure but not protected by statute.	(a) Full-time, trained probation officer for each 70 cases (b) Probation system "out of politics," as matter of law and tradition Tenure relatively secure. (c) System noted for high standards of personnel.

10. Individualization of Instruction

0	1	2	3	4
None Curriculum and attitudes of personnel ignore problem. Individual is expected to fit the traditional pattern. High school courses, if any, are college preparatory type. Standardization unchallenged.	Individualization achieved in part by initiative of some of personnel despite curriculum and school set-up. High school courses are college preparatory type. Standardization dominant.	Some parts of curriculum or school set-up aim at meeting individual differences, others do not Some individual teachers interested, others not High school courses mainly college preparatory Standardization rather than individualization still largely predominant	Administrative policy and dominant teacher attitudes favor individualization; curriculum and school set-up still incompletely express the policy Individualization beginning to prevail over standardization Specifically, curriculum includes art, music, drama, vocational training, etc	(a) Entire school organized to individualize education—curriculum, school routine, personnel, all pointed toward giving each child the educational experience best suited to his particular capacities and needs at each stage of his development (b) School routine includes complete testing, guidance, adjustment procedures (c) Individualization dominant over standardization in curriculum, organization, routine, and teacher attitudes (d) Content of required courses fixed but is determined by nature of individual's needs (e) Teachers actually in contact with home and community situations underlying adjustment difficulties.

11. Community Recreation

0	1	2	3	4
No playgrounds; no public recreation program.	Summer playground program for children only; playgrounds average less than an acre and parts of city over 2 miles from playground. Untrained and inefficient playground leaders.	Only summer programs for children and adults with playgrounds average less than two acres and athletic fields average less than five acres and parts of city over a mile from either No provision for insuring trained leadership.	Varied summer program and winter athletic program for children and adults Playgrounds average less than three acres and athletic fields less than ten and parts of city over half mile from either. Part-time trained leadership	(a) Playgrounds average three acres in size within one-fourth to a half mile of every home (b) Athletic fields average ten acres within a mile. (c) Community buildings or school centers with gymnasiums, pools, and craft rooms. (d) Facilities for music, drama, art, and hobby groups. (e) Trained year-round full-time leadership with adequate staff, with varied program reaching all ages and both sexes

12. Rôle of the Four Leading Religious Denominations in Delinquency Prevention

0	1	2	3	4
Ministers show little or no interest in organized efforts to control delinquency Churches are adult centered Ministers stress moralistic rather than causal approach to behavior problems, churches, no cooperation with themselves or secular agencies	A minority of ministers interested in organized efforts to control delinquency, one or two churches making special efforts to interest own boys and girls in week day activities; but no outstanding contribution of any sort by any church to the solution of the local problem generally Co-operation irregular and dependent on individuals	A minority of ministers in leading denominations interested in organized efforts to control delinquency; several churches have special programs for children or cooperate with character agencies, one or two churches may have taken lead in providing needed services or facilities for the community Cooperation with social agencies usually passive rather than active—churches seldom utilized by agencies	Most ministers interested, several churches have co-operate with character agencies, some have taken lead in providing special services or facilities. Active cooperation with social agencies the rule. Churches regarded as a live factor in social work in the community, but action tends to follow traditional lines without utilizing research data, adapting adjustive techniques to church activities, etc	(a) All ministers in leading denominations actively interested in organized efforts to control delinquency. (b) All churches have factual data on local conditions (c) Plan programs for youth on basis of local needs. (d) Provide special facilities or services meeting problem (clinics, gymnasia, playground leaders, community leaders, etc.) (e) Actively cooperating with court and social agencies, supporting social agencies, stimulating action and leading public opinion (f) Provide religious services and training for inmates of correctional institutions (if any) (g) Actively assist probation and parole authorities

13. Group Work

0	1	2	3	4
No organized group work in community	Organized only on a sectarian or religious basis or for one sex only Training of executives not strong point in their favor Executives on part-time or volunteer basis	Non-sectarian organizations (Scouts, YMCA, YWCA, etc) for both boys and girls, but distributed with little reference to needs Programs regarded by local executives as meeting only part of the needs of the field Paid full-time executives with professional training in each field	Non-sectarian organizations for both boys and girls enrolling up to 30% of proper age and sex group Inadequate programs, but some effort being made to meet needs of less-favored areas Paid, full-time, trained executives. Each agency doing own job without much attempt to utilize other agencies by referrals Cooperative programs, etc	(a) Organized group work programs for both boys and girls (b) Enrolling over 30% of respective age and sex groups. (c) Distributed in proportion to population on non-religious as well as religious basis with comprehensive programs (d) Paid full-time, trained executives. (e) Practice of utilizing other agencies (casework, etc) by referral of cases and exchange of information well established.

14. Coordination of Agencies

Possible types of coordinating organizations (1) Community fund, (2) Confidential Exchange, (3) Council of Social Agencies, (4) Health Council, etc, (5) Community or Coordinating Council

0	1	2	3	4
No coordinating machinery and little cooperation among agencies No community chest, no confidential exchange, no council of social agencies, no coordinating or community council Each agency going it alone or at odds with others	Community chest or confidential exchange, or both Some cooperation among agencies Chest has no paid executive Many agencies fail to use confidential exchange	Community chest headed by paid executive Practically all agencies including courts and police make regular use of confidential exchange "Consciousness of kind" has appeared among social workers as evidenced by professional organization of some sort—Social Workers Club, Council of Social Agencies, etc	Community chest paid executive Confidential exchange Regular use of exchange by all agencies Professional organization of social workers Administrative coordinating body or bodies covering fields of health, recreation, child welfare (or delinquency) and adult assistance.	(a) Community chest. (b) Paid executive (c) Confidential exchange (d) Regular use of exchange by all agencies (e) Professional organization of social workers (f) Administrative coordination in fields of health, recreation, child welfare (delinquency), adult assistance. (g) Courts, schools, police represented on coordinating bodies (h) Churches and lay leadership groups included in coordinating bodies

15. Identification of Danger Factors in Environment

Possible risk areas, low-rent areas in settled community, garage-home fringe settlements, broken or emotionally disturbed homes; areas where traditions are in conflict as in some immigrant sections, areas where vice, crime, or delinquency have become traditional patterns of behavior, etc

0	1	2	3	4
No attention; risk factors not yet delineated or analyzed	Sporadic attempts at spot-mapping delinquents by individuals Job not yet done on long-time inclusive way. (Time span one year or less and entire community not covered)	Risk areas identified on 5-year basis for entire community Analysis of causal conditions incomplete—delinquency spot-map not supplemented with maps showing distribution of risk factors (indicated above), case studies, etc	Risk areas identified as in 2 and causal factors described and analyzed Five types of data available I Distribution of delinquents of both sexes for at least 5 years II Distribution of risk factors III Distribution of constructive facilities (schools, churches, clubs, etc.), IV. Basic social data—population by areas, economic levels, racial distribution, etc V Case studies.	(a) Risk areas identified and factors analyzed as in 3 (b) Definite organization exists for action (c) Action under way

16. Reduction of Danger Factors

0	1	2	3	4
Nothing being done	A few individuals see problems, have begun to push for action. Support lacking. Results very spotty or lacking altogether.	One or more organizations are active in certain fields. Likely to overemphasize negative programs and reform by law	Attack has broadened to community scope; still regarded as a special effort not a permanent activity for community adjustment.	(a) Community adjustment is a function of a permanent organization. (b) A paid staff charged with duty of planning community betterment. (c) Definite efforts to apply preventive measures in high-risk areas (d) Plans and efforts under way to raise level of housing, improve neighborhood environment, etc

17. Initiative and Planning for Delinquency Control

A non-official individual or person of important status.	A single agency or civic group or leading citizen	Council of social agencies, community council, coordinating council, or similar body	(a) Paid professional research and planning institute. (b) Commanding community confidence and support (c) With cooperation of agencies mentioned in 3

18. Local Fact-Finding Facilities

0	1	2	3	4
No objective facts available in local community, no local studies, no one interested	Limited fact-finding an occasional or incidental function of an individual or organization; no comprehensive survey in any field; facts actually found available only to limited group for private purposes.	Local fact-finding in own field a *regular* function of some agency, most agencies without such service	Local fact-finding on comprehensive scale an occasional function of some agency, limited fact-finding in one field a regular function, most agencies demanding community facts as basis of agency planning.	(a) Special local research organization functioning, or comprehensive social fact-finding is routine part of school's function (b) Full data on population, economic conditions, delinquency, distribution of risks and constructive factors continuously available (c) In understandable graphic form.

19. Attitude of Newspapers

0	1	2	3	4
Papers ignore subject or exploit children's cases in sensational way using names, etc	Give occasional publicity, use no names, but show no especial interest, understanding, or desire to cooperate	News of children's cases handled carefully, without names Papers cooperate with Juvenile Court but provide no leadership Sympathetic toward modern methods of treatment, passive toward prevention	Papers use space to publicize prevention, urge action, take positive attitude Sympathetic toward modern methods of treatment and actively interested in prevention as a useful activity for others but restrict rôle mainly to publicizing the leadership of others.	(a) Newspaper management actively interested in promoting prevention not only by publicity for the idea but by stimulating community organization (b) Supplying continuous initiative through the paper (c) Through business and personal contacts

20. Community Information Service on Delinquency Prevention

0	1	2	3	4
None except at initiative of newspaper reporters	Occasional publicity on initiative of some agency or individual	Systematic utilization of newspaper space by some agency or council throughout the year.	Regular key-man information service with or without newspaper support by agency or council.	(a) Public relations program (b) Flow of information to leaders and public through press, radio, special publications, news letters, speeches, personal contacts (c) Definitely organized and administered by an especially designed individual or agency. (d) Functions continuously.

21. Activities of Medical Profession

0	1	2	3	4
Not interested or hostile.	General indifference A few physicians contributing time, money, or service to assist particular agencies or individuals But the profession gives little or no leadership toward providing more adjustive services or improving community organization	Some interest in delinquency control among physicians One or more physicians known as leaders in social betterment fields Local Medical Society pays little or no attention however to psychiatric point of view (Not cooperating in Mental Hygiene movement, has had no talks by psychiatrists in last year, etc)	General interest. A few physicians actively cooperating with organized efforts at prevention through community councils or similar organizations. Medical Society shows some interest in psychiatrists or in psychiatric problems (Special lectures, etc)	(a) General interest. (b) Medical society actively cooperating with organized efforts to discover cases early and to reduce environmental risks. (c) Psychiatrists or psychiatric problems have regular place on society's program

22. Role of the "More Comfortable" (over $5,000-a-year) Families in Delinquency Prevention

(Make a list of the men who own and run your community—the leading bankers, lawyers, physicians, merchants, manufacturers, utility executives, etc , and their wives. Rate each one on this scale and strike on the score for the group. When a family's characteristics fall in more than one column the score will be a compromise)

0	1	2	3	4
Hostile or anti-social; set example of disregard for law; show little evidence of social responsibility; show children selfish extravagances and disregard of others (Expensive dances, etc., in midst of unemployment; repeated reckless or drunken driving escapades, etc)	Passive and unimportant either way Own children may be attracting unfavorable attention but are not obviously anti-social.	Mildly interested, willing to contribute money possibly, but no time or service May be on agency boards, but prefer to hire good citizenship and do not see the community problem. Tax-conscious rather than service-conscious Willing or eager to hold school recreation, library, and church budgets to bare essentials Not above average in financial support of private agencies Own children attract no particular attention. "Average" in behavior.	Recognize problem One or two leading citizens identified with prevention movement. Known to have opposed some service-crippling budget cut in schools, police, church-es, or private agencies, or to have taken active part in urging service-expanding increase in such budgets. Own children tend to be spoken of as "good citizens."	(a) Recognize problem (b) Actively out in front in leading and supporting delinquency prevention As a group the comfortable families are known to be working actively to improve the community and (c) to raise the efficiency level of its tax-supported as well as private agencies (d) Have given leadership to strengthen public and private agencies and uphold moral tone of community (e) Own children regarded as "good citizens" (f) and leaders for good citizenship in own age-group.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Typical Case Record from the Files of the Michigan Child Guidance Institute

(For discussion see Chapter XIX.)

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MICHIGAN CHILD GUIDANCE INSTITUTE

Ann Arbor, Michigan

July 21, 1938   *Case No. 299*

SUMMARY REPORT on examination of:

HENRY TESP
Address: Millville, County of X.
Age: 11-5

Referred by: Teacher
Examining Physician: Local Physician

REASON FOR REFERRAL

Henry was referred by the school because of untruthfulness, general
unreliability and repeated episodes of stealing. He takes no interest in
school work. He is regarded as incorrigible at home, and frequently
is truant from there.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Henry has been stealing since the age of six, shortly after the birth
of his first sibling. He has taken articles from stores, his mother and
grandmother, from school, and often brought home things he claimed
he had found. At such times his mother usually nags and questions
him until he confesses. He usually spend the money on himself. No
punishment seems to have any effect.

He likes to brag and appear important. He teases other children in

the home, particularly his next youngest brother. He destroys expen-
sive toys purchased for him. He has bitten his finger nails and been
enuretic since a small child. He does not obey either parent. His father
usually ignores disobedience, but his mother makes a scene. Once when
the latter punished him with a strap, he threatened to kick her and
said, "I will kill you for that."

He is seldom at home at meal time and has been gone the entire
day without permission. Now his mother keeps him in pajamas so he
cannot leave the house.

He has never liked school. He is restless, untruthful, inattentive, and
appropriates articles that do not belong to him.

HOME SITUATION

The family lived in a large metropolitan area until 1934 when they
moved to a suburb. At that time they purchased a modern home com-
posed of eight rooms and bath. The interior is well kept, comfortably
furnished and evidences the interest and pride of the parents. The
father's income is $50 a week. Payments on the home are $60 monthly.
(Details of family life omitted.)

Henry has three siblings, ranging in age from five years to five
months. All appear obedient, unselfish, and well-adjusted. Although
there is little outward demonstration of affection in the home, there
seems to be a close family tie. The mother handles the finances. Both
parents are much concerned over Henry, who quarrels with everyone
in the family, particularly his next youngest brother.

SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT

He began kindergarten at the age of five, starting the day his first
sibling was born. He never displayed any real enthusiasm for school
but never truanted. He repeated the second grade and at present is
in 5-B. Since moving to the present home, he has disliked school increas-
ingly, although last year he showed some interest in manual training
and has liked music. In the schoolroom he steals, lies, is very restless,
and does not pay attention in class.

PHYSICAL FACTORS

The mother's health was excellent during the period of gestation.
She had given up her work because of the pregnancy. Delivery was
natural but the mother was severely lacerated. She attempted to nurse
him for the first two months but he cried constantly and was "slowly
starving." He was placed on Eagle Brand milk and weaned at 14 months
without difficulty. He walked at 14 months, talked at two years. Toilet

habits were established at 18 months but nocturnal enuresis has persisted. He has always been difficult to feed and there is a scene at practically every meal.

Except for occasional "bilious attacks" his health was good as a small child. He had measles in a very severe form soon after starting to school, followed by a severe attack of intestinal influenza. He had chicken pox two years ago. In April, 1937, he developed rheumatic fever with leakage of the heart but made a satisfactory recovery.

At the time of the examination by the local physician, his height, which is recorded as 60 inches, is 2.9 inches above the maximum for his age, while his weight is .7 or 8 pounds below what would be expected for his height, indicating some degree of malnutrition. His chest is described as flat. His skin is dry. Otherwise the findings are essentially negative. A blood Kahn test and intra-dermal tuberculin test were both reported negative in 1937.

PSYCHOMETRIC FINDINGS

Intelligence:

Verbal Stanford-Binet: Chronological age 11 years 2 months, mental age 12 years 8 months, intelligence quotient, 113.

Performance Arthur I: Mental age 16 years 0 months, intelligence quotient 143.

The boy is definitely possessed of superior intellectual capacity. In the performance type of situation, however, his level of functioning is much above that of which he is capable in the verbal situation.

School Achievement:

Metropolitan A: Present grade placement—into 5-A.

                           Chronological age

grade expectancy 5.6

                   Mental age grade

expectancy 7.1

	Grade Equiv.	Age Equiv.
Reading	4.8	10.3
Arithmetic funda.	4.6	10.0

The boy's general level of scholastic achievement is inferior to both his chronological and his mental age expectancies. As compared to his chronological age he is retarded about a full grade in reading and arithmetic, and as compared to his mental age, he is retarded about two and a half grades in these two subjects.

Vision—Betts Telebinocular Tests: Except for questionable distance fusion, all processes measured were within normal limits.

Henry was the only child of his parents for five years. During that time his mother tried to make him a "perfect child." She overprotected him and would not allow him to play with other children. In the home he was given everything he wished. The maternal grandmother was in the home much of the time and openly took the boy's part when his mother corrected him. When the mother became pregnant the second time, the maternal grandmother said before Henry: "I suppose now that you have another child coming, this one will be neglected." Since the birth of this brother, Henry has often said: "You don't love me any more." It was soon after this that he began to steal. His parents have been inconsistent in his handling, ignoring disobedience, and not following through when he has left tasks. His mother frequently makes a scene, even at the table, and nags him. Otherwise she is occupied with the younger children and displays no affection for the boy.

The boy himself admits his difficulties in interview and explains them as being due to "something inside of me." However, he shows no real insight into them. It is his claim that whenever he has stolen money, he has taken it to buy something he wanted and could not otherwise get, such as a dog and materials for model airplanes. Except to suggest that discipline at home is strict, though fair, the boy makes no complaints regarding his handling at home. He does tell of his father's having shifted his favoritism to each new child born into the family and remarks that he would like his father to be more of a companion to him. The subject himself further suggested that if he were given a regular allowance, he would probably not appropriate things that did not belong to him. He also tells of frequent arguing between the parents and of their worrying regarding his difficulties. He admits being nocturnally enuretic, biting his fingernails when "nervous," and expresses definite curiosity regarding the phenomenon of birth, particularly since his parents have answered his inquiries with, "You'll find out when you get older." It is felt to be significant that he claims to like school and all of his teachers except one, who is described as "crabby" and accused of "snooping in the lavatory."

This is a physically precociously developed, but undernourished boy of 11 years 2 months of age, of very superior intelligence, who was overprotected, overindulged by the family group in very early childhood and restricted from playing with other children prior to his entrance into school, which restrictions have tended to continue. At the time of

the birth of the younger brother he felt himself rejected by the parents, especially the mother, largely because of the remarks of the paternal grandmother and the decrease in the attention given him. It is significant that his stealing began shortly after the birth of this brother, which, together with subsequent manifestations, suggests that it has been primarily motivated by a desire for revenge against the parents, especially the mother. However, there are indications that the stealing is becoming somewhat compulsive in character. His buying of gifts for his mother after having stolen from her is probably a reaction to his anxiety over his guilt-feelings. His great need to be a "big shot" suggests an underlying social inferiority and feeling of unacceptance by the group. It is quite probable that his great insecurity in the home situation handicapped him in his early adjustment to the school situation which, together with an obvious resentment of parental authority which has projected itself into other situations, has resulted in resistance to the school situation and is probably largely responsible for his academic retardation. His restlessness and enuresis are indications of underlying tension and anxiety.

PROBABLE OUTCOME OF PRESENT TRENDS

The apparent lack of insight, the present compulsive nature of his stealing, the long duration of his difficulties, suggest that the adjustment of this boy may be somewhat difficult, and that without adequate help he is likely to become even more seriously delinquent. However, his superior intellectual ability should be a decided asset and with an alteration in the parental attitude, the handling in the home, and the institution of other adjustive measures, some gradual improvement can be expected.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. *Medical*
   No medical recommendations indicated.
2. *Home Situation*
   a. Arrange for the Institute psychiatric social worker to interpret the findings of this study to the parents at the time of the Treatment Planning Conference.
   b. An effort should be made to help the parents to understand the relationship between their own attitudes, sibling displacement, the interference of paternal relatives, the overindulgence in early childhood with the subsequent decrease in attention, the restriction of activities, and the inconsistency in handling in the home to the boy's problem. An effort should be made on the part of the parents to rectify these situations.

c. The father should be encouraged to become more companionable with the boy. The father's interest in music and hunting should readily serve for the development of a common bond between them, provided mutual participation is encouraged. The father should encourage the boy to discuss his problems with him and to express himself freely to the father. The parents should be helped to understand that the curiosity of this boy regarding the phenomena of birth is quite normal and natural and that there is a decided need for his uncertainty regarding this to be clarified. It is suggested that the father use some such book as *Growing Up* by Karl DeSchweinitz as a basis for the discussion of this subject with the boy.

d. The mother should be encouraged to become more consistent in her handling of the boy with less nagging. It is apparent that his malnutrition is largely the result of an inadequate consumption of food, during quarrels at the dinner table, principally directed toward him. A distinct effort should be made to make meal time in this home a pleasant occasion.

e. The boy should be permitted greater freedom in his activities and enabled to associate more freely with the other children. The parents should encourage desirable children in the neighborhood to come to the home to play with him as well as letting him participate in activities in their home and in the activities of organized groups in the community. It is advised that he again be given a regular allowance adequate for his normal spending needs in return for performing certain chores about the home of a masculine nature. This allowance should not be withdrawn or reduced except for failure to perform his prescribed tasks or to make restitution for something he has stolen. Even in the latter event he should never be deprived of his entire allowance for an extended period of time as it is likely that he would be unable to comprehend the justice of this and resent it greatly.

f. It would also be helpful if the mother could come to be less violent in her reactions toward the maternal grandmother, as this very evidently tends to disturb the tranquility in the home. It would also be helpful if the Institute psychiatric social worker might interpret the findings to this maternal grandmother.

3. *School*

a. The boy is intellectually capable of a much superior level of achievement that he has shown to date. It is obvious that his emotional difficulties have handicapped him considerably in the school situation. The placement to be made in the fall appears to

be adequate in light of his actual achievement up to the present, though the important consideration is whether the placement will result in his being in a room where he can be motivated to make the most of his abilities and where he can be given maximum understanding and encouragement with respect to his adjustment difficulties.

b. On the academic side, nonetheless, he should be given an interpretation of his abilities and relative achievement, preferably by the Institute psychologist in the presence of his teachers, as a means of stimulating the boy to greater effort and improved progress. This interpretation should take the form of a challenge to the boy. A discussion of the boy's needs, capacities, and limitations should also be held with each new teacher he has, and efforts should be made to establish a sympathetic relationship betwen the boy and his teachers, encouraging him to look upon them as adult friends and counselors. The boy is intelligent enough to appreciate his own academic progress, though he should be given some objective record of it which he can understand and thus be motivated to work at a level more consistent with his abilities.

c. His active participation in school group activities should also be encouraged, particularly activities that can offer him opportunities for recognition. His present interest in model airplanes is one such possibility. It is also suggested that he be reappointed to the Safety Patrol, though with the definite understanding that his tenure be dependent upon his improved general adjustment.

Community

a. His expressed desire to join the Boy Scouts should be kept in mind when he becomes chronologically eligible, However, he is at present eligible for the Cub Scouts if such an organization is active in the community.

   The boy should also be given an opportunity to attend camp, even this summer, if possible. The University Fresh Air camp should be considered next summer.

b. If at the end of a suitable period, at least 6 months in duration, the boy has not shown definite indications of improvement in his adjustment, consideration should be given to the advisability of temporarily removing him from the home..

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MICHIGAN CHILD GUIDANCE INSTITUTE
Ann Arbor, Michigan

TREATMENT PLANNING CONFERENCE

HENRY TESP   *Age:* 11-5   *Case No. 299*
Address:
Referred by: Teacher
Conference held at: School
Date: October 3, 1938
Personnel Present: Teacher   *Institute Staff:* Psychiatric Social Worker

(Reason for referral, statement of problem, and recommendations
repeated here as in original Summary Report but omitted
for present purposes.)

TREATMENT PLAN

1. *Medical*
   None.
2. *Home*
   Interpretation of Institution findings and recommendations to be
   executed by the Michigan Child Guidance Institute psychiatric social
   worker.
3. *School*
   a. Interpretation to boy to be given by Michigan Child Guidance
      Institute psychologist at next clinic in this county.
   b. Interpretation to teacher to be made by referring principal.
   c. Participation in school group activities to be arranged by school
      principal.
4. *Community*
   a. The school principal to approach local Scoutmaster regarding
      Henry's enrollment in the nearest Cub troup.
   b. Teacher to help make arrangements for camp experience next
      summer.
   c. Chairman of County Committee to assist in arrangements for Kel-
      logg Camp or Starr Commonwealth, if boy fails to show improve-
      ment in six months.   •

School Principal
School Teacher
Michigan Child Guidance
  Institute Social Worker
Michigan Child Guidance
. Institute Psychologist
Chairman, County Committee

Copies to: School Principal,
Chairman, County Committee

MICHIGAN CHILD GUIDANCE INSTITUTE

Progress Report

HENRY TESP   *No. 299*

10-6-38. The Michigan Child Guidance Institute social worker inter-
viewed both parents to make the interpretation of the findings and
recommendations. The father was interested, anxious for suggestions,
and cooperative. He seemed to develop insight into the underlying
causes of the boy's behavior and to accept his need for evidences of
affection and approval. He stated it would be possible to develop
mutual activities, and plans to renew his photography hobby in which
Henry is also interested. He seemed pleased when a book that he could
use regarding sex instruction was suggested, and also agreed to provide
a regular allowance for the boy. The father also appeared to recognize
the part the mother has played in the boy's poor adjustment, as she
complained endlessly during the interview and rationalized her own
treatment of him whenever a change of attitude was suggested.

11-23-38 (Interview by Psychologist). The boy states that he is get-
ting along better in school and he has improved his academic stand-
ing, especially in arithmetic. The last marking period he received excel-
lent in almost all of his subjects. He states that he has not taken any-
thing from the school this year and he believes his most serious offense
was taking scotch tape. He believes that he is getting along better with
other children in school. He is still deeply interested in airplane model-
ing and wants such materials for Christmas. He believes that he is
making a better adjustment in the home although he states that his
mother and maternal grandmother still argue and quarrel. He still wets
the bed and thinks he will outgrow the habit. His mother scolds him
when he does this while his father says nothing. He also gets an allow-
ance of 25 cents a week.   ɔ ʼɪ

(Interview by Psychologist with School Principal.) It is the opinion of the teacher that the boy is making a satisfactory academic adjustment, especially in arithmetic. She has attempted to follow out the school -recommendations and believes he has shown marked progress. The school is also considering the possibility of advancing the boy into a higher group. She feels, however, that the parents are difficult to work with and that the mother is not willing to accept the problems of this boy. The principal plans to continue with her interest in the boy and will attempt to work further with the parents. She states that on Hallowe'en the parents both attended the school masquerade party in costume. This she regards as a friendly gesture indicative of an interest in the school and the problems of the boy in relation to the school.

12-10-38. The School Principal was interviewed today. She stated Henry was now serving on safety patrol and showing considerable responsibility for the other children. On his own initiative he has gone ' home and returned with an umbrella to help the others when it has rained. Pilfering has not been observed but his untruthfulness causes the principal considerable concern. His father has attended P.T.A. meetings and has borrowed *Growing Up* from the school.

1-16-39. A call was made at the home today. His mother has withdrawn his allowance for the past two weeks because he has failed to empty the garbage. He was given very nice clothing for Christmas but was disappointed because of the lack of toys. He was not allowed to wear his coat today because he had been playing in the alley with it on. His mother continues to complain. When questioned she says the stealing has no longer been present but adds, "He bothers me because he won't wear his overshoes."

A Typical Instrument of Social Action:
The Agency Publication

DELINQUENCY NEWS LETTER

Issued Monthly by the Michigan Child Guidance Institute
(Under the Board of Regents, Trustees.)
For Better Records—Closer Community Cooperation—Stronger Professional Services

NOVEMBER, 1939

Institute Aids 487 Children In 20 Months

Committee Pushes Cooperation Plan

Heartened by the announcement that representatives of three of the great private foundations working with children in this state would join the group, the Advisory Committee of the Michigan Child Guidance Institute met at the Michigan State College Union, East Lansing, Dec 5, and pushed further toward the objective of closer cooperation of all important agencies in Michigan in the control of delinquency and juvenile maladjustment

As a start toward focusing law-enforcement agencies on delinquency prevention, the December issue of the *Michigan State Police Journal* is to carry an appeal from Chief Ralph Chapman of Kalamazoo to chiefs of police all over the state for information on conditions in their own communities as they affect delinquency G Robert Kropman, deputy superintendent of public instruction, called attention to the fact that at the office of Dr Eugene Elliott, Superintendent of Public Instruction, an information center has been set up to clear all community organization and adult education projects in the state

The need of informing police officers concerning the location of facilities for adjusting children in trouble was brought out by Lieutenant Mulbar of the State Police

Hon. Clair Black, judge of probate, St. Clair County, pointed out the need of expanding the facilities to accommodate more children who are beyond the treatment resources of the local community but are still not ready for institutionalization

Hon George Watson, member of the State Crime Commission and former legislator, urged the Institute to put its emphasis on case treatment and to let the state know what it was doing

The foundations which have accepted membership in the committee are the Children's Fund of Michigan, the Rackham Fund, and the W K. Kellogg Foundation. To replace Dr. Carl Winters of Jackson on behalf of the Juvenile Institute Commission Hon. Irving J. Tucker, probate judge, of Allegan, has been appointed. Dr. Winters has moved to Illinois.

The next meeting of the Committee was fixed for Wednesday, Feb. 21, in Ann Arbor

The best bibliography available on juvenile delinquency is a mimeographed list of 41 pages of references, issued by the Children's Bureau, U. S. Dept of Labor, Washington.

THE INSTITUTE THIS MONTH

Services rendered (1) to individual children; (2) to organizations, (3) to public education, (4) to research

I Clinical services to individual children
  I New cases accepted during month, 28
     Last case number in October, 359 Last case number in November, 387
  II *Full Study Cases*—preliminary examination by local physician, the Institute's field unit psychologist, the Institute's social workers, final analysis by Institute Psychiatrist, Dr. Paul Jordan, and Staff, *local community follow-up, consultation and continuing treatment supervision* by Institute psychiatric social worker and other Staff members.
  10 *full study cases from Oakland county in November*
  III *Direct referral cases*—preliminary examination by local physician, social data from referring individual or agency, psychological examination by Psychological Clinic, Rackham Institute for Human Adjustment, Ann Arbor, final analysis, Dr Jordan and Staff in Ann Arbor Institute report to referring agency or parent
  7 *direct referral cases in November* from *Washtenaw and Newaygo counties*
     (All Full-Study and Direct Referral Cases cleared through local Probate Court)
  IV *Psychiatric consultation service* to cooperating *Institutions* to Michigan Children's Institute, on 11 cases
     To Flint Guidance Center—no new cases reported, psychiatric interviews with old cases continued every second Monday
     To University Hospital and Neuropsychiatric Institute, Ann Arbor—part-time staff duty by Institute psychiatrist with regular juvenile patients under observation and treatment in those institutions continued
  V *Case conferences held in 5 counties*
     None Institute's clinical services are available in Ann Arbor to any parent, teacher, social worker or probate judge anywhere in Michigan for any child under 21 without charge for expert services. The Institute provides various degrees of security-accommodations for its cases in Ann Arbor through the cooperation of the University Hospital, the Neuropsychiatric Institute, the Children's Institute and selected private homes at minimum cost for board, room and medicines. The Institute does not pay for the transportation or maintenance of any patient but does make credit arrangements for payments over a period of one to six months. Time required for patients in Ann Arbor as out-patients—

November marks the beginning of the third year of the Michigan Child Guidance Institute as a functioning organization

The Palmer-Flynn-David M Martin bill establishing the Institute was signed by Governor Murphy in July, 1937, the details of formulating a plan of organization and methods of administration were completed within the following three months, and by authorization of the regent-trustees the formation of a staff was begun Nov 1, 1937 With the arrival of the staff psychiatrist, Dr Paul Jordan, five months later, April 1, 1938, full operations at last got under way.

During the 20 months between that time and the end of this November, the Institute has accepted 387 children's cases for its own records, or an average of *193 cases per month* including school vacation periods and Christmas holidays; and it has assisted through the part-time services of its psychiatrist in the observation and treatment of more than 100 additional children at the Neuropsychiatric Institute, the University hospital and the Flint Guidance Center, *a total of more than 487 cases examined through the Institute or assisted in some way by its psychiatrist in 20 months* This gives a grand total average of *over 24.3 cases per month*

State Schools Seeking To Aid Child Adjustment

Schools in five Michigan communities have recently consulted the Institute about ways and means of utilizing the California case conference technique for the adjustment of trouble cases These communities are Mt Clemens, Centerline, Adrian, Rochester and Milford The procedure calls for nothing more complicated than the pooling about a conference table of the information usually already known in the school system about any particular trouble case—information on the child's physical condition, his home and neighborhood backgrounds, his mental abilities, and his emotional attitudes

The first prerequisite for the use of this technique is a realization on the part of administrators and teachers that no one person has all the answers and that by really seeking together to get at the causes of a child's behavior and then by making an intelligent plan for attacking each causal factor in turn, a school faculty can frequently bring about a readjustment that will make an appeal to outside agencies unnecessary

Literature on the Case Conference Method of Handling Trouble Cases in School will be available through the Institute without charge early in January

DELINQUENCY NEWS LETTER

DELINQUENCY NEWS LETTER

A Change in Policy

On the advice of the Advisory Committee of
the Michigan Child Guidance Institute, the *News
Letter* this month begins a new policy of greater
publicity for the activities of the Institute

Up to this time the *News Letter* has continued
the old policy of the Juvenile Delinquency Infor-
mation Service (1934–37), which was to publicize
the activities of *other* agencies rather than its
own. Without neglecting other agencies, the In-
stitute now will endeavor to present from time
to time the bare facts about its own work. Pub-
lic interest in the actual treatment of cases justi-
fies the change

The Institute This Month will hereafter be a
regular feature of the *News Letter*

                       LJC

NYA PLAYS SANTA

Youth workers on NYA work projects are helping
by reconditioning and building Christmas toys in 45
NYA work centers throughout the state for needy
boys and girls. In Mt. Clemens, the Kiwanis Club
held a "free" show, admission being a new or a
used toy. In Manistee, The Salvation Army opened
a toy shop

The Crystal Falls Children's Aid Society held a
drive for toys and for clothes to be given to needy
children on Christmas

NYA boys in St. Ignace continued the good work
begun last year in repairing old toys. Marquette,
Muskegon, Alma, Jackson, Cadillac and scores of
other Michigan cities also cooperated with the NYA
to make this Christmas "the happiest one ever." In
Jackson, youth from the NYA completed 2,600 new
blue, yellow, and green toys for distribution to the
city's needy children by the Junior Dorcas.

"Out of 32,000,000 children of school age in
America, 17,000,000 are entirely without any reli-
gious instruction as a basis for moral living."
—Judge E. J. Millington of Cadillac, at State Bap-
tist Convention, Lansing

Tax Crisis In Pontiac Forces School Slash

Less than two months after the Michigan Edu-
cation Association announced that an annual ap-
propriation of $39,000,000 for State-aid to schools
would result in curtailment of school services, this
prediction was borne out in one of the state's
larger school systems

Supt. Robert B. French of Pontiac informed a
representative of the *Michigan Education Journal*
that curtailed services in Pontiac schools, resulting
from the shortage of funds, include elimination of
15 teaching positions, transfer of four special
physical education teachers to regular teaching
positions, elimination of four ungraded rooms, re-
duction in transportation services, and withdrawal
of the school's contribution of building facilities
from the city's program of adult recreation

A member of the Pontiac Real Estate Associa-
tion said that schools need more money, but that
property in Pontiac is bearing all of the tax it can
under the circumstances.

THE INSTITUTE THIS MONTH

Continued from Page 1, Col. 2

  3 to 4 days; for hospitalization, 30 days.
(For information, write to the Director, Michi-
gan Child Guidance Institute, 1027 East Hu-
ron, Ann Arbor, Mich.)

2. Services to organizations
  I *Technical advice to leadership groups*—11
    counties.
  II. *Consultation on organization problems*—11
    judges, 9 school officials.
3. Services to public education
  I Printed 10,479 copies October *Delinquency
    News Letter.*
  II Meetings addressed by members of staff—
    11
  III Radio addresses, director and psychiatrist
    —3.
  IV. Exhibits presented at state-wide confer-
    ences—2
  V Graduate students in training—1
  VI Teachers participating in staff conferences
    —in Ann Arbor, 4; in conferences in field
    —21
4. Services to research
  I Completed preparations for adult educa-
    tion project in Monroe for parents of chil-
    dren in trouble. Project drafted as dem-
    onstration, for ultimate application to
    other communities
  II Started project with N.Y.A. assistance,
    small grant from Rackham Fund, and the
    cooperation of the Wayne County Juvenile
    Court to analyze distribution of delin-
    quents over period of years in Detroit in
    relation to transportation and other fac-
    tors. Director, James E. Stermer.
  III. First draft of report on "Social Back-
    grounds of Child Maladjustment in a Typi-
    cal Rural County" completed. (Field study
    completed in 1938)
  IV. Final computations in statistical study of
    "Delinquency Distribution in Michigan in
    Relation to Social and Economic Factors"
    approaching completion. Co-author, Paul
    Wiers.

The December Bulletin of the American Youth
Commission headlines "Work for All Youth is now
Imperative."

INSTITUTE AIDS 487 CHILDREN IN 20 MONTHS

Continued from Page 1, Col 3

Of the 387 children who have received clinical
services from the Institute as such in 20 months,
87 came to Ann Arbor on direct referral from
the following 19 counties Branch, Calhoun,
Eaton, Hillsdale, Ingham, Jackson, Kent, Lena-
wee, Livingston, Macomb, Marquette, Newaygo,
Oakland, Saginaw, Sanilac, Shiawassee, Tuscola,
Washtenaw and Wayne 41 cases were interviewed
by Dr Jordan at the Flint Guidance Center where
he assists in a psychiatric demonstration project
on two days a month 19 cases received his atten-
tion at the Children's Institute under a coopera-
tive arrangement which went into effect last Oct.
1 33 cases were handled by the Institute's field
unit and staff in demonstration clinics in Shia-
wassee, Marquette and Cass counties And 207
cases were referred from Oakland, Monroe, Clin-
ton and Montcalm counties where the juvenile
courts, the schools, the local social workers and
other local leaders have organized themselves to
cooperate permanently with the Institute and to
follow through on individual treatment plans
which are worked out with them for each case.
In all to the end of November the Institute clini-
cal service directly had reached 387 cases *from 23
different counties*

How effective is the Institute's handling of
cases? Is it just another diagnostic agency, or is
it treating?

During last summer the Institute staff checked
back on the execution of its recommendations in
three of the four counties which have organized
for an intensive follow-up In the fourth, Mont-
calm, organization was too recent to justify such
a reappraisal But in Oakland, Monroe and Clin-
ton counties 344 recommendations were checked
on 141 cases which had been examined from 1
to 15 months before *Of these 344 recommenda-
tions, 201, or 58.4%, had been executed in whole
or in part*

But everywhere and for all clinics execution of
recommendations is a matter that requires time
The longer the time that elapses between the
original examination and the check-up, the higher
the percentage of recommendations executed.

Thus in Oakland and Monroe, the most thor-
oughly organized of the four counties, the average
percentage of recommendations executed on 39
cases in 1 to 6 months was 50.8, on 33 cases in
from 6 to 12 months, 68.1%, and on 49 cases
in 12 to 15 months, 71.2% In the interval be-
tween the mid-point of the first period and the
mid-point of the second, approximately 10
months, the rise in percentages of recommenda-
tions executed averaged slightly more than 2%
a month *Oakland and Monroe apparently "had
something on the ball."*

A 50 to 71 percentage execution of recommen-
dations in Oakland and Monroe counties in co-
operation with the Institute may be compared
with the percentage of recommendations of the
Judge Baker Foundation Clinic which were exe-
cuted by the Boston Juvenile court and other
agencies as studied by the Gluecks in *1000 Ju-
venile Delinquents* (p. 125). The Gluecks found
that of 3,240 recommendations the execution of
which could be checked, 1,478, or 45.6%, were
not executed. In other words, the percentage of
execution of recommendations in Boston averaged
only 54.4% over a period of years as compared
with a total average of 58.4% for 141 Michigan
Child Guidance Institute cases in from 1 to 15

DELINQUENCY NEWS LETTER

October Delinquents Increase 10.8% Over 1938

50 identical counties reported a net increase of 33 individuals involved in new complaints, or 10.8%, in October, 1939, as compared with October, 1938. 61 counties reported this year as compared with 62 a year ago, the total number of individuals involved in new complaints being 387 in 1939 and 333 in 1938. Of the 50 identical counties reporting in both years, 14 showed no changes, 18 counties reported increases amounting to 88 individuals, while 18 counties reported decreases amounting to 55 individuals—making a net increase of 33 individuals in the identical counties. Delinquency rate, 50 reporting counties, 85 individuals per 100,000 population aged 10-16. County coverage, 73.6%; population coverage, 86.07%.

(By County State Department of Corrections)

Counties	Individuals Involved in Official Complaints 62 Counties Oct., 1938 Total	Individuals Involved in Official Complaints 61 Counties Oct., 1939 Total	Boys	Girls	Placed Under Unofficial Supervision	Disposition of Individuals Involved in Official Complaints October 1939 plus those held over from preceding months Dis missed	Placed on Prob	Com to Inst [1]	Other Actions [2]	Held Over
Alcona	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Alger	6									
Allegan	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Alpena	5	6	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Antrim	*	15	13	1	0	1	14	0	0	0
Arenac	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Baraga	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Barry	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Bay	2									
Benzie	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Berrien	*									
Branch	0	10	7	3	0	1	9	0	0	0
Calhoun	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cass	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Charlevoix	*	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Cheboygan	0									
Chippewa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Clare	3									
Clinton	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Crawford	1	3	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Delta	1	3	3	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Dickinson	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Eaton	3	2	2	0	0	1	0	2	1	0
Emmet	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Genesee	20	21	13	8	1	9	12	2	1	0
Gladwin	1									
Gogebic	6									
Grand Traverse	6	3	3	0	0	0	0	5	0	0
Gratiot	3	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Hillsdale	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Houghton	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Huron	*									
Ingham	*									
Ionia	2	3	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Iosco	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Iron	11	4	3	1	0	1	2	1	0	0
Isabella	*	3	2	1	1	3	0	0	0	0
Jackson	8	4	4	0	12	0	4	0	0	0
Kalamazoo	3	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	7
Kalkaska	0	3	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Kent	*	30	28	7	1	4	17	1	0	74
Keweenaw	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lapeer	0									
Leelanau	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lenawee	*									
Livingston	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Luce	*									
Mackinac	1	3	3	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Macomb	5	3	1	2	0	0	3	2	0	0
Manistee	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marquette	*									
Mason	*									
Mecosta	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Menominee	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Midland	*									
Missaukee	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Monroe	3	1	1	0	4	0	4	1	0	12
Montcalm	3	1	0	1	3	1	1	0	0	0
Montmorency	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Muskegon	10	22	18	4	0	1	10	0	1	83
Newaygo	6	8	5	1	0	6	0	0	0	25
Oakland	21	30	22	8	0	9	10	0	1	25
Oceana	*									
Ogemaw	*	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ontonagon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Osceola	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oscoda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Otsego	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ottawa	*									
Presque Isle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Roscommon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saginaw	2	12	6	6	0	0	3	0	0	0
St. Clair	3	6	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
St. Joseph	*	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sanilac	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Schoolcraft	1									
Shiawassee	*									
Tuscola	0									
Van Buren	3	4	3	3	0	4	0	0	0	0
Washtenaw	6	6	6	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Wayne	140	165	153	12	7	30	115	21	11	296
Wexford	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Totals	**333**	**387**	**328**	**59**	**50**	**81**	**249**	**45**	**14**	**531**

[1] Committed to both public and private institutions, incl. B.V.S., G.T.S., and institutions for feeble-minded.
[2] Placement on farm, in boarding home, restitution without probation, returned to parents, etc.
* No information reported.

INSTITUTE AIDS 487 CHILDREN IN 20 MONTHS

Continued from Page 2, Col. 3

months, and an average of 71.2% in Oakland and Monroe counties in a treatment period of approximately 13.5 months. Granting that the Glueck study covered a period which was years out of date by the time the study appeared in 1934, it is still the most thorough investigation of the kind ever made, and on the basis of it there is nothing for Michigan to be ashamed of in the comparison.

The execution of recommendations is treatment. So much for clinical service in our first 20 months: *more than 487 children reached by clinical service, 207 of these reached with an intensive follow-up treatment program* that at its best in Oakland and Monroe counties is operating at a level of efficiency in percentage of recommendations executed which is 30% above that of the Judge Baker Foundation Clinic when studied by the Gluecks.

What has it cost?

Under the law the Institute is required not only to study the causes of child delinquency and to seek ways of improving methods of treatment but also to coordinate the activities of public and private agencies in this field—in other words, to carry on a program of prevention through community effort as well as through the study and treatment of cases. Accordingly, not quite one-third of the Institute's budget goes into a program of advice and assistance to the organizing efforts of local courts, schools and civic clubs; into a campaign of leadership education through the *News Letter* and other channels throughout the state, and into studies of the community causes of delinquency. Since several members of the staff carry on organizational, educational and research work as well as clinical activities, the exact allocation of costs involves a certain amount of estimate. But approximately two-thirds of the budget may fairly be said to go into clinical service.

This means that for a clinical staff consisting of one psychiatrist, one psychologist, three social workers, two stenographers, the part-time services of one community coordinator, and the part-time administrative services of one secretary and one director, supplemented by psychological service from the Psychological Clinic of the Rackham Institute for Human Adjustment of the University and by technical advice from the staff of the Neuropsychiatric Institute as needed, the actual clinical costs under the Institute budget, including salaries and field expenses, have averaged approximately $2,000 a month.

For the 19.3 cases a month handled through its own procedures the Institute has, therefore, spent an average of $103.62 per case.

For the 24.3 cases a month reached through its own procedures plus the part-time services of its psychiatrist in other institutions the cost to the Institute has approximated $82.30 per case.

These costs per case are the actual book costs of the services rendered by the Institute to individual cases. They do not include (1) the cost of transporting the cases to and from the clinics; (2) the cost of maintaining the cases while under observation and treatment, nor (3) the cost of many items of the treatment itself. Such costs of transportation, maintenance and additional treatment on Institute cases have been paid for by parents, by local courts, by local service clubs.

DELINQUENCY NEWS LETTER

Child Aid School Open To State Use

INSTITUTE AIDS 487 CHILDREN IN 20 MONTHS

The $300,000 Horace H Rackham School of Special Education under Dr Charles Elliott, which opened last September on the campus of the Ypsilanti State Normal College, Ypsilanti, is the latest addition to Michigan's facilities not only for the training of special teachers but for the education of handicapped children themselves

The new school is equipped to handle 150 children, 24 of whom can remain at the school throughout the academic year of nine months and the summer term of six weeks. Separate dormitories for 12 girls and 12 boys, in charge of a resident matron, make it possible for children from remote parts of the state to receive remedial education at an over-all cost of $8 a week

The school offers special classes in sight-saving, special work in lip-reading for the hard of hearing, physiotherapy and educational treatment for the paralyzed and crippled, rest and extra dietary aids for the undernourished, speech training for speech defectives, and highly individualized treatment for the mentally defective

Continuing the service to Ann Arbor which the College had been extending for a number of years, the school bus transports 10 handicapped Ann Arbor children to and fro each school day and collects and distributes about 60 handicapped children from Ypsilanti and vicinity Because of the newness of the school, up-state schools and courts have not yet begun to utilize its facilities Information can be obtained from Dr Charles Elliott, Director, Horace H Rackham School of Special Education, Ypsilanti

For children afflicted with near-blindness, deafness, speech handicaps, certain types of physical handicaps, and for small children who are slow learners the school is set up to function not as a substitute for institutional custody for cases needing security treatment, but as an agency for assisting *teachable* handicapped children to meet their own problems. It represents a far-sighted attempt on the part of Dr Elliott and the Rackham directors to forestall ultimate institutional costs of caring for such handicapped children by preparing teachers to apply scientific methods in order to teach the child to reduce, offset or at least to adjust to his handicap.

"One of the most serious problems of democratic government today is the mounting tax-load," says Dr Elliott "It is merely common sense to begin reducing some of this load by treating the *causes* of exceptional behavior instead of waiting till the case is incurable and then putting the individual in an institution That is what we are trying to do here, and we are also teaching some 50 prospective teachers how to apply special education techniques in other schools Last summer we had over 200 teachers here from 20 states and 3 provinces of Canada We think special education means economy in the long run because it tends to keep handicapped children *out* of institutions and off the taxpayer's neck "

In addition to the work at the new Rackham School in Ypsilanti, seven new special education units have been organized in Michigan this fall.

Units organized under the provisions of the revised Day School Special Class law are in Monroe and Traverse City for crippled children, in Dowagiac, Hamtramck, and Muskegon Heights, for deaf and

or in other ways *that do not draw on state taxes* in any way. Unlike custodial institutions and hospitals which do have to charge for maintenance and treatment and in many cases for transportation, the Institute's per capita costs cover only the expenses of rendering certain expert services, and not the expenses incident to transporting, maintaining and treating patients In fairness to other institutions, therefore, such differences should always be kept in mind in making comparisons of per capita costs

At the same time the fact remains that every dollar of the state's money spent by the Institute on clinical work, especially in the four counties that are receiving intensive service, *is a dollar that requires matching from local resources* Under the Institute plan the state is paying for most of the expert services needed, but it is requiring local people to meet at least part of the total expense involved in treating each case

This results in a handicap on counties in the northern and western parts of the state remote from Ann Arbor and on the poorer counties generally, but it is the only possible plan for making a small appropriation ($35,000) reach as many cases as possible Had the state treasury been called upon to pay *all* the expenses not only of providing expert service but of transporting, maintaining and treating every case referred to the Institute, the $40,000 *actually spent on clinical service in 20 months would have treated less than 150 cases instead of the 487 actually reached*

To put it in another way, Had the state treasury been required to meet *all* the expenses not only of providing expert psychiatric, psychological and social work service for these 487 cases but also of transporting, maintaining and treating each case, the cost to the state would have exceeded $100,000 This means that under the Institute plan there has been a net saving to the state per given amount of service totaling more than $60,000 in 20 months—to say nothing of the dollars-and-cents value of the interest created in local communities by the fact that they have been willing to shoulder their own responsibilities

While it is still early to draw final conclusions, the results of 20 months' experience under the Institute plan would suggest that the most economical way for the state government to provide expert preventive treatment for the thousands of pre-delinquent and delinquent children scattered throughout both peninsulas would be to extend the present Institute plan assuring *state support for expert service and guidance* coupled with the principle of *local responsibility for transportation, maintenance and treatment* for each individual case. To meet the claim of the Upper Peninsula and the more remote parts of the Lower Peninsula for equality of treatment, some plan for state equalization of differences in transportation costs and local resources as compared with the richer counties should also receive consideration.

hard of hearing, and in Hamtramck and Kalamazoo, for partially seeing.

At Kalamazoo, an area service is provided in which the new Harold Upjohn School will serve the crippled, cardiopathic, deaf, hard of hearing, and partially seeing children both of the city and adjoining rural area.
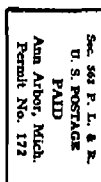
4-H REACHES OVER 1,200,000

The Department of Agriculture reports that more than 44% of all rural boys and girls are now being reached through 4-H Club work Since the passage of the Smith-Lever Act in 1914, 7,548,959 different boys and girls have been 4-H Club members and in 1938 the membership was 1,285,029 and going up Re-enrollment of members has been steadily on the increase and today nearly 61% re-enroll yearly An important figure in 4-H work is the high percentage of projects completed by the members,—in 1938 reaching a new high of 74.6% The average age of club members for 1938 was 13½ years for boys and a little over 13 years 3 months for girls The number of members 16 to 20 years of age has been increasing steadily and today 248,024 boys and girls (16-20) in school and 73,075 out of school are enrolled in the 4-H program In 1938 there were 74,594 different 4-H Clubs with an average membership of 17.2. 6,444 County Extension Agents in 1938 gave part of their time to 4-H leadership, each taking care of approximately 200 club members. These County Agents had the help of 143,017 local leaders who each gave approximately one day a month to 4-H Club work. See *Extension Service Circular 312*, 1939, Dept. of Agriculture.

Michigan Community News, edited by Dr. Howard McClusky, University of Michigan, carries items of community activity in its Nov.-Dec. Issue from the following 27 communities Allegan, Ann Arbor, Baldwin, Battle Creek, Branch county, Centerville, Fenton, Grand Ledge, Grand River, Hartland Area, Imlay City, Ionia, Lapeer, Mason, Midland, Monroe, Northville, Otsego, Parchment, Petoskey, Royal Oak, Saginaw, Saline Valley, Sandusky, St. Louis, Vermontville, Ypsilanti.

Appendix D

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